

THE HISTORY OF INDIA

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As Told By Its Own Historians

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

**THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS
OF THE LATE
SIR H. M. ELLIOT**

Edited by Prof. John Dowson



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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Tarikhu-l Hind of Biruni, *Tarikh Yamini* of 'Utbi and *Tarikhu-s Subuktigin* of Baihaki have already been reprinted in "Subuktigin." They appeared in the second volume of the original edition of Elliot's History, published in 1869. The history of the Muhammadan rule in India was commenced in "Subuktigin," which opened with the accounts of the earliest inroads of the Ghaznvide conquerors.

Five more articles from the same original work are reprinted in this volume. "The copious extracts which it brings together from the oldest and most approved of the Indian historians" says the Editor Professor Dowson, "supply ample means for tracing the rise and progress of that power which was destined to bring the whole peninsula under its sway, and to stand for seven centuries as a conspicuous and brilliant example of the strength and weakness, the crimes, vices, and occasional virtues of Musulman despotism."

As this volume gives further accounts of the Ghaznvides, the Ghorians, and the slave kings, it is also named "Ghaznvide, Ghor and Slave Dynasties," the authors being Md. 'Ufi, Hasan Nizami, Ibu Asir, Baizawi and Juwaini respectively.

The following is a list of translations in this volume, with the names of those responsible for them:—

1. *Jami'u-l Hikayat*—A munshi, whose style had been improved by an Englishman, but the translation needed a thorough revision by the Editor. 2. *Nizamu-t Tawarikh*, 3. *Taju-l Ma-asir*, and 4. *Jahan Kusa* by Sir H. M. Elliot, 5. *Kamih-t Tawarikh*—Editor.

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GHAZNIVIDE, GHOR AND SLAVE DYNASTIES
OF
'IFI, NIZAMI, ASIR, BAIZAWI & JUWAINI

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 128, Footnote No. 19, add "Properly Chol or Chol-jarad. See Vol. VIII, p. 409 (original edition).

Page 134, lines 12-13: Put the semicolon after *Darbela* and comma after *Jaisi*.

JAMI'U-L HIKAYAT
OF
MUHAMMAD 'UFI

(The full title of this work is *Jawami'u-l Hikayat wa Lawa-mi'u-l Riwayat*, "Collections of Stories and Illustrations of Histories," but it is commonly known by the shorter title prefixed to this article. The author was Maulana Nuru-d din Muhammad 'Ufi, who lived during the reign of Shamsu-d din Altanish, to whose minister, Nizamu-l Mulk Muhammad, son of Abu Sa'id Junaidi, the book is dedicated. In one of his stories he states that his tutor was Ruknu-d din Imam, and that he attended the Madrasa in Bukhara, from which it may be inferred that he was born in or near that city. It would appear also that he was a traveller, for he speaks in different places of the time when he was in Canbay, and of when he was in Khwarizm.

In the Preface of the work he relates in very inflated language the defeat of Nasiru-d din Kubacha by Nizamu-l Mulk Junaidi and his subsequent suicide. It does not exactly appear what part the author took in this transaction, but he distinctly says that he was besieged in the fort of Bhakkar with Nasiru-d din, and he was evidently well acquainted with all the details. A short abstract of this account will be given at the end of the historical extracts.

The work may shortly be described as a Romance of History. It bears much the same relation to the history of India and Central Asia as the "*Memorabilia of Valerius Maximus*" bear to the History of Rome Briggs (*Firishta* I, 23 and 212) describes it as "a collection of historical stories and anecdotes illustrative of the virtues, vices, and calamities of mankind, but more useful in commemorating the prevailing opinions of con-

temporaries than as a source of authenticity." This estimate of the work is somewhat tempered by the remarks of Thomas (*Prinsep* I, 37,) who says, "the compiler of a succession of tales does not ordinarily carry the weight that belongs to the writer of history, and favourite oriental legends, as is well known, are suited from time to time with many and various heroes, but the author of the *Jami'u-l Hikayat* is something better than a mere story-teller and his residence at Dehli under Altamsh (A.H. 607, A.D., 1211) gave him advantages in sifting Indian legends of no mean order." Many of the stories which are here recorded of historical persons have no doubt a foundation of fact, but some of them have certainly been amplified and embellished to make them more agreeable reading. Thus the story about the miraculous spring of water which is said to be quoted from 'Utbi enters into details which are not to be found in the original relation (See *Tarikh Yamini*).

The work is divided into four Kisms or parts, each containing twenty-five chapters, but the first part is the longest and comprises about half the work. The first five chapters are devoted respectively to (1) Attributes of the Creator, (2) Miracles of the Prophets, (3) Marvellous Stories of the Saints, (4) Anecdotes of the Kings of Persia, and (5) Anecdotes of the Khalifas. The next chapter is upon Justice, and all the rest are similarly devoted to the illustration of some moral or intellectual quality. This arrangement, however well adapted to accomplish the object of the author, is particularly perplexing to those who are seeking for historical or biographical notices, and a long and laborious search is necessary to find any anecdote which has not been carefully noted down. The extracts which follow have therefore been arranged in something like chronological sequence, but the chapters from which they are taken are always specified so as to make easy a reference to the original.

A great number of different books are mentioned

as the sources from which the stories have been derived. Among them are the *Tarikh Yamini*, *Tarikh-i Nasiri*, *Tarikh-i Muluk-i 'Ajam*, *Tarikhul 'Abbas*, *Majma'u-l Amsal*, *'Ainu-l Akhbar*, *Sharfu-n Nabi*, *Faraj b'ada-l Shiddat*, *Khalku-l Insan*, *Fawaid-i Kutb-i Hikayati*, *Miftahu-l Hajj*, *Sarru-l Dari*, *Shajratu-l 'Akl*, *Akhbar-i Baramika*, etc.

The work has been a popular one, and has served as a mine from which many subsequent writers have drawn largely. Haji Khalfa notices three different Turkish versions, and one of these has been described by Hammer-Purgstall.

Besides the *Jami'u-l Hikayat* the author produced a Persian Tazkira, bearing the title *Lubabu-l Albab*, which is, however, more of an Anthology than a Biography.

Copies of the *Jamiu-l Hikayat* are not uncommon. Sir H. Elliot used in India two large folio MSS., one containing 850, and the other 1,000 pages. There is a fine copy in the East India Library. The Editor has had three large MSS. for use and reference. One fine perfect copy in Naskh characters belonging to H. T. Prinsep, size, 16 × 11 inches; another in folio belonging to the late Raja Ratan Sing, of Bareilly, in which the third Kism is deficient, and lastly, a MS. which formerly belonged to Ranjit Singh and is now the property of Thomas. This last contains only the first two Kisms, but as far as it goes it is fuller and more accurate than the others. The different copies vary considerably in the number of stories.¹

STRATAGEM OF THE MINISTER OF KING FUR OF HIND
(Kism I. Bab xiii. Hikayat 46)

It is related in the books of the people of

¹ See *Haji Khalfa II.* 510; *Rampoldi VI.* 485, 514, *XI.* 185; *Gemaldesaal II.* 244 *et passim*; *Assassins*, 221

Hind that when Fur the Hindu succeeded to the throne of Hindustan, he brought the country under his rule, and the Rais made submission to him. He had a minister exceedingly clever and intelligent, unequalled in ability and unsurpassed in ingenuity. This minister maintained a firm government and made himself most valuable to his master. Under him the power of the Brahmans was curtailed and their mummeries unheeded; hence they hated him, and conspired to overthrow him. They at length resolved to write a letter to Fur in the name of the deceased Rai to this effect : "I am very happy where I am, and the affairs of my State are well administered, still I am distressed for the want of my minister, for I have no one like him to confer with,—you must send him to me." They sealed this with the royal signet, and gave it to one of the king's personal attendants, with directions to place it on his pillow while he was asleep. When the king awoke, he saw the letter, and having read it he sent for his minister and showed it to him, telling him that he must prepare for a journey to the next world. The minister evinced no repugnance, but expressed his willingness to go. He knew full well that the dead cannot write, and that they have no power to send letters and messengers, so he felt assured that this was a plot of the Brahmans. He said to the King, "Grant me one month that I may make preparation for my departure—to satisfy my enemies, redress some injuries, and bestow a few gifts and offerings on the meritorious, so that I may depart in peace." The King granted the respite. The minister then had a large hole dug in the open ground, and all around it he had quantities of firewood placed. He then had a tunnel dug from his home to this hole, and made its outlet immediately

Goldene Horde XXVII; Firishta I, 23, 212, IV. 420; Jahrbucher, No. 70.

under the firewood. When all things were ready, the minister took leave of his master, who gave him a letter addressed to his father saying, "According to your command, I have sent my minister, and I am now awaiting further directions from you, for I will do whatever you desire." The King proceeded to the appointed place, the minister placed himself under the firewood, and the Brahmans set fire to it. The minister then went through the tunnel to his home, and remained closely concealed there for four months. At the end of that time, he one night sent information to the King that his minister had returned from the other world. The King was amazed, but the minister waited upon him, and kissing the ground, presented a letter written in the language of the King's father, which said, "You sent me the minister in compliance with my direction, and I am greatly obliged; still I know that your kingdom is going to ruin without him, and that all the affairs of State are in confusion, so I send him back to you, and make this request, that you will despatch the Brahmans to me, so that I may be at peace and your throne may receive no injury from them." When the King had read this, he called the Brahmans before him and made known to them the communication he had received. They were greatly alarmed, and saw that it was all a trick of the minister's, but as they were unable to expose it, they were all burnt.

RAI SHANKAL AND BAHRAM GUR

(I.iv.16.)

When Bahram resumed the government, and again exercised a beneficial influence over his subjects, he desired to examine the country of Hindustan, and bring it under subjection. So he placed his army and country in charge of his brother Zasi, and clothing himself in the garb of a merchant he went to Hindustan. At that time the Rai of Hind was named Shankal, who in

dignity and prosperity, in territories, treasures, and armies, excelled all the other Rais.

Bahram arrived in his territory, and made himself acquainted with all its affairs. It happened that at this time a huge elephant made its appearance in the forest without the city, and so distressed the people that all traffic on the road was put a stop to. The King's men were unable to prevent this, but Bahram went out against it, and, single-handed, killed it. This exploit being reported to the Rai, he called Bahram before him, and asked him who he was, whence he had come, and for what reason he had hitherto kept aloof from him. These questions Bahram answered by saying that he was a native of Iran, that he had fled thence to save his life, which had been attempted by the king of that country, who for some reason had become inimical to him. On hearing this, Shankal treated him with great kindness and received him into his especial favour. Bahram remained in attendance upon Shankal, until shortly after a powerful enemy rose up against and threatened the Rai, who, deeming himself not sufficiently strong to hold his own, wished to submit to, and become a tributary of his invader. This, however, Bahram would not hear of, but, putting himself at the head of an army, expelled the enemy. This feat made his courage famous throughout Hindustan, and Rai Shankal, having witnessed his valour, and how by his aid the enemy had been overthrown, loaded him with honours. One day, Bahram was drinking wine in the company of the Rai, and having become intoxicated, blurted out the following Persian verses:—

*"I am that ferocious lion; I am that huge elephant;
My name is Bahram Gur, and my patronymic Bujabala."*²

² *The Hadaiku-l Balaghat and the Majma'u-s Sandya say that this was the first verse composed in the Persian language.*

Shankal heard this, and becoming aware that his friend was Bahram, he rose up, and leading him into the presence chamber, and kissing the ground before him, excused himself for his apparent neglect, saying, "though greatness is depicted in your countenance, yet I, through my blind folly, have hitherto been wanting in the respect due to so exalted a character. I stand before you stupefied, and shall ever bless my fate, if you will but condescend to take up your abode at my residence, and grace my poor house with your august presence. I am altogether and devotedly at your service. Your orders shall be my law, even should you command me to leave my kingdom and become an exile."

Bahram answered, "You have nothing to reproach yourself for; you have invariably treated me with the greatest kindness and hospitality, and have done all, nay, more than all, that could be expected. One request I would make of you. You have in your harem a daughter, whose beauty outshines the sun, and whose figure shames the cypress. Give her to me, by so doing our friendship will be more strongly cemented, and you will have laid me under the deepest obligation to you."

Shankal promptly complied, and gave him his daughter in marriage, and many gifts and presents. He also made such magnificent preparations for the ceremony, that they became the topic of conversation amongst all people. Bahram, protected by the prestige of his name, returned to Iran. His army and subjects came forth to meet him, and celebrated the joyous occasion by sacrificial offerings, almsgiving, and every sort of festivity. Bahram, gratified by the delight his subjects showed on his return, gave orders that the taxes of seven years should be refunded to them, and that for the ensuing seven years, all business should be set aside, and the people should give themselves up to complete ease and pleasure.

Accordingly, all devoted themselves to the pursuit

of pleasure, and neglected their professions, and trade, and farming; in consequence of which, an utter stagnation of all commerce ensued. No grain was grown—a dearth followed, and the condition of the people was altogether changed. On seeing this, Bahram directed that the people should divide the day into two portions,—the first half was to be spent in work and business, and the other half in ease and enjoyment. This arrangement being carried out, the time flew by with lightning speed.

THE SOLIS OF PERSIA

(I. iv. 17.)

Bahram Gur, while out hunting, observed a party of shop-keepers diverting themselves in the evening with drinking in a boat without musicians. He asked them why they had no minstrels, and they replied that his Majesty's reign was a happy one for musicians, who were in great demand, and could not be obtained even for a high price. They themselves had offered 100 dirhams, but could not get one. Bahram said he would consider the matter and provide for their pleasure, so when he got home he wrote off to Shankal requesting him to send a supply of them. Shankal accordingly sent 1,000 sweet-voiced minstrels to Persia, there to dwell and multiply. The present Solis are descended from the colony which came over upon this invitations.³

ANECDOTE OF KISRA.⁴

(IV.x.5.)

It is related that when Kisra (Naushirwan) became king and inherited vast possessions, he sent an officer to

³ *The same assertion is made in the Tabakat-i Nasiri.*

⁴ *(I have not found this story in either of the MSS. that I have used—Ed.)*

Hindustan,⁵ entrusting him with the government of that country, and told him that he should rule with equity over the subjects and not distress them by tyranny and injustice, for until the people were made happy, the country could not be populated and his fame would never spread itself over the world. The first object in becoming a king is to obtain a good name. The officer promised to observe these precepts, and accordingly marched towards Hindustan. He had no sooner reached its borders, than he taxed the subjects and demanded one year's revenue from them. He exacted from them one-tenth of their property, and the people finding it too heavy for them to pay, objected, saying that the former kings had exempted them from such a payment, and they could not submit to such a rule. They therefore consulted with each other, and addressed a petition to Kisra, containing a full representation of the case. Kisra consequently ordered that it was but proper for them to follow the customs and rules of their forefathers, and any others ought not to be introduced.

RAI JAI SING OF NAHRWALA
(I.vi.2.)

Muhammad 'Ufi, the compiler of this work, observes that he never heard a story to be compared with this. He had once been in Kambayat (Cambay), a city situated on the sea-shore in which, a number of Sunnis, who were religious, faithful, and charitable, resided. In this city, which belonged to the chiefs of Guzerat and Nahrwala, was a body of Fire-worshippers as well as the congregation of Musulmans. In the reign of a king named Jai Singh, there was a mosque, and a minaret from which the summons to prayer was cried. The Fire-worshippers instigated the infidels to attack the Musulmans, and the

⁵ *Another copy reads Tabaristan.*

minaret was destroyed, the mosque burnt, and eighty Musulmans were killed.

A certain Muhammadan, a khatib, or reader of the khutba, by name Khatib 'Ali, escaped, and fled to Nahrwala. None of the courtiers of the Rai paid any attention to him, or rendered him any assistance, each one being desirous to screen those of his own persuasion. At last, having learnt that the Rai was going out to hunt, Khatib 'Ali sat down behind a tree in the forest and awaited the Rai's coming. When the Rai had reached the spot, Khatib 'Ali stood up, and implored him to stop the elephant and listen to his complaint. He then placed in his hand a *kasida*, which he had composed in Hindi verse, stating the whole case. The Rai having heard the complaint, placed Khatib 'Ali under charge of a servant, ordering him to take the greatest care of him, and to produce him in Court when required to do so. The Rai then returned, and having called his minister, made over temporary charge of the Government to him, stating that he intended to seclude himself for three days from public business in his harem, during which seclusion he desired to be left unmolested. That night Rai Jai Sing, having mounted a dromedary, started from Nahrwala for Kambayat, and accomplished the distance, forty parasangs, in one night and one day. Having disguised himself by putting on a tradesman's dress, he entered the city, and stayed a short time in different places in the market place, making enquiries as to the truth of Khatib 'Ali's complaint. He then learnt that the Muhammadans were oppressed and slain without any grounds for such tyranny. Having thus learnt the truth of the case, he filled a vessel with sea water, and returned to Nahrwala, which he entered on the third night from his departure. The next day he held a court, and summoning all complaints he directed the Khatib, to relate his grievance. When he had stated his case, a body of the infidels wished to intimidate

him and falsify his statement. On this the Rai ordered his water carrier to give the water pot to them that they might drink from it. Each one on tasting found that the vessel contained sea water, and could not drink it. The Rai then told them that he had felt unable to put implicit confidence in any one, because a difference of religion was involved in the case; he had himself therefore gone to Kambayat, and having made personal enquiries as to the truth, had learnt that the Muhammadans were the victims of tyranny and oppression. He said that it was his duty to see that all his subjects were afforded such protection as would enable them to live in peace. He then gave orders that two leading men from each class of Infidels, Brahmans, Fire-Worshippers,⁶ and others, should be punished. He gave a lac of Balotras⁷ to enable them to rebuild the mosque and minarets. He also granted to Khatib four articles of dress.⁸ These are preserved to this day, but are only exposed to view on high festival days. The mosque and minaret were standing until a few years ago. But when the army of Bala⁹ invaded Nahrwala, they were destroyed. Sa'id Sharaf Tamin rebuilt them at his own expense, and having erected four towers, made golden cupolas for them. He left this monument of The Faith in the land of Infidels, and it remains to this day.

RAI JAI SING OF NAHRWALA
(I.xiii.15.)

In the city of Nahrwala there was a Rai who was called

⁶(Tarsa. This name is used for Christians and for Fire-worshippers. It would also sometimes seem to be applied to Buddhists).

⁷These Balotras appears to derive their name from the Balas.

⁸ (Chahar chiz bidad az jama-itaifur tarqu).

⁹(One MS. writes this name "Balwa," another "Malu,"—Malwa?)

Jai Sing. He was one of the greatest and wisest princes of the time. Before his time there was no Rai in Guzerat and Nahrwala. He was the first man who possessed dominion and claimed sovereignty there. He ruled over the country with great gentleness, and controlled the other chiefs. When his fame had reached all quarters of the world, the Rai of Daur,¹⁰ who was the head of all the Rais of Hindustan, heard of him and sent ambassadors to ascertain upon what grounds he had assumed royalty; for in former times there was no Rai in Nahrwala, which had only been a den of thieves, and threatening that if he did not relinquish his pretensions he would lead an army against him, and hurl the very earth of Guzerat into the air with the hoofs of his horses. When the ambassadors arrived and delivered the message, the Rai showed them the greatest civility and hospitality. One night the Rai changed his clothes, putting on such as were worn by soldiers, and having buckled a sword round his waist, he went out and proceeded to the house of a courtesan, and having bargained with her, he stayed in her house that night, but kept himself under control. When the woman was fast asleep, the Rai took away all the clothes and property he could find, and buried them in a certain place. He then turned homewards, but as he was going along he saw a weaver, who was engaged in weaving cotton. He called him and said, "If to-morrow you are brought before the Rai, and are charged with having committed a theft in the night preceding, you first deny it, but afterwards confess and say that you buried the property in such and such a place. Rest assured that you shall receive no harm, but shall be made happy by my

¹⁰ *Perhaps meant for Dravida, or the country of Coramandel; on which name see Reinaud, Memoire sur l' Inde, p. 284, and Fragments Arabes, pp. 104 and 121. Thomas's MS. reads "Kaur."*

reward." Next morning, the Rai mounted an elephant, and the ambassadors of the Rai of Hind rode out with him, intending to go to the forest. When they had gone a little way, the Rai saw the courtesan worrying the chief police officer of the city, and saying, "Last night my clothes were stolen; find out who the thieves were, or make good the loss." The Rai asked what the woman was saying, and what she was complaining about. He replied that she complained of a man who came to her house in the previous night, and consorted with her, and when she was asleep stole her clothes. I want time to find the thief or the clothes, but she will not hear of any delay. The Rai said, "She is right. She had only those clothes, and it is your duty to be vigilant, and as you have been negligent you must pay the penalty." The police officer replied, "It is as the king says; still if a man goes at night to the house of a prostitute and carries off her clothes, how am I to blame? I promise, however, that if I do not find the thief within a week I will pay the value of the things." The Rai replied, "You must find the thief instantly, or I will punish you as a warning to others." The police officer said it was not in his power to produce him. The Rai asked him, "Would you like me to find him?" and the poor man replied, "Yes." There was an idol of stone in Nahrwala resembling a negro. The Rai told the ambassadors that this idol was obedient to him. He then made a signal to it, and waited a moment, then turning his face towards the ambassadors he said, "Do you see this negro?" They said, "We see nothing." The Rai then addressed it, saying: "A theft was committed last night, and the clothes of a prostitute were stolen; tell me where they are." After a short time he exclaimed, "They are buried in such and such a place." People proceeded to the spot, and there found the things which had been stolen. The police officer said, "If the Rai would be pleased to give the necessary directions the

thief also might be caught and punished." The Rai answered: "The idol says you have recovered the stolen goods, what more do you want?" The police officer still pressed the point, and the king replied, "The idol says he will direct you to the thief if you will promise to pardon him." The officer gave the required promise, and the king then said, "The idol says that a weaver who dwells in such and such a place was the thief." The weaver was brought forward. At first he denied the theft, but at length confessed, and told them where he had buried the clothes. The ambassadors were surprised at this. Some days after Jai Sing Deo said to the ambassadors. "Go and tell your master that I have a slave who, if I give him the order would bring your master's head to me in a moment; but as he is a great King, and his territory is a long distance off, I will not molest him. If, however, he again shows hostility, he shall get the punishment he deserves." The ambassadors returned and related all the circumstances to their master. The Rai of Daur was much alarmed, and sent him great presents. By this artifice the Rai of Nahrwala gained his purpose, without shedding the blood of a single man.

A HINDU MERCHANT OF NAHRWALA

(I.vi.12.)

In the city of Nahrwala there lived a Hindu merchant who having deposited nine lacs of Balotras in the hands of a certain person, after some time died. The trustee then sent for the merchant's son and said,—Your father left with me nine lacs of Balotras. The son replied that he knew nothing about it, but that there would probably be mention made of the transaction in his father's accounts. These he sent for but could find nothing about nine lacs! on this he observed: "Had my father entrusted anybody with so large a sum, surely mention would have been made of it in his account book; this

not being the case, I cannot feel myself justified in taking possession of the money." The trustee urged the yough to take the money, but he still refused, and the contention grew hot between them. At last they agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of Rai Jai Sing Deo, who gave it as his opinion, that since the two could not agree as to the disposal of the money, it was advisable that it should be expended on some work of lasting utility, so that the real owner would reap the reward of virtue and charity. Accordingly, the "nine-lac reservoir," the finest in the world, hitherto unsurpassed by all that the cleverest and wisest have executed or imagined, was built; and remains to be seen to this day.

THE BITER BII

(I.vi.19.)

A certain Rai of Hind conferred on his brother the chieftainship of Nahrwala. This brother was of an exceedingly cruel and wicked disposition. He made counterfeit dirhams and circulated them in different parts of the country. After the lapse of some time, a certain person became acquainted with this dishonest act, and reported it to the Rai, who, on hearing it, sent a powerful force which captured and sent this brother to him.

It happened curiously enough, that this brother had given one of his servants some poison with instructions to go and seek employment in the Rai's kitchen, and, when opportunity offered, to administer some of the poison to the Rai, in order to procure his death, so that he himself might succeed to the vacant throne. On his employer's capture and imprisonment, it occurred to this servant that, as things had so fallen out, it was advisable that he should inform the Rai of the circumstance. So he went to the king and having showed him the poison, told him of the plot his brother had laid against his life. On hearing this, the Rai returned thanks to Almighty God for his great escape, and punished his

brother for his intended crime. Thus by this act of royal justice was he saved from assassination, and the fame of his goodness spread abroad through all nations.

RAI GURPAL OF NAHRWALA

(I.vi.33)

The following is one of the most interesting stories relating to the people of India. There was a Rai of Nahrwala named Gurpal,¹¹ who surpassed all the other rulers in Hindustan in good qualities and amiable disposition. Before he had been raised to the throne he had passed many of his years in beggary, during which period he had experienced all the vicissitudes of fortune, having shared both its smiles and frowns, and endured all the miseries of travel. When he obtained power he exercised it with a right appreciation of the duties of a ruler, remembering his own days of adversity he afforded full protection and justice to his subjects, ruling with impartiality and equity.

It is said that one day having left the city, he rode into the surrounding country on an elephant. While looking about him, his eye suddenly fell on the wife of a washerman who was going to the jungle to wash clothes. She was dressed in red, and of surpassing beauty; all who beheld her became passionately in love with her and lost all control over themselves.

The Rai overcome by the feelings her beauty excited in his heart, turned his elephant towards her and was tempted to let his passion get the mastery over his better feelings. Suddenly he came to himself, and, restraining his wrongful desires, said, "O passions you are doing wrong, beware. Good never comes to him

¹¹(This name is so given in the draft translation made in India, and it is written "Gurpal" in Raja Ratan Singh's MS; but in the other MSS. that I have used it is "Alurbar," and "Aludbal.")

who does ill." He then turned back filled with remorse, and assembling all the Brahmans, he ordered them to prepare fuel, declaring his intention of burning himself alive. The Brahmans asked him what sin he had committed. He then told them of the wicked desires he had entertained in his heart. The Brahmans having heard his relation, said that they undoubtedly must burn him, and that even then the expiation would be incomplete. For he was king, and his power supreme; if he could not restrain his passions, then in a short time all the female inhabitants of the city would become degraded and all the offspring illegitimate. It was right, therefore, that he should immolate himself, and by so doing, obtain forgiveness for his sins, and enter into eternal life. Wood was then brought, and a funeral pile having been made, it was lighted. When it was thoroughly on fire and the flames mounted high, then the Rai made preparations to throw himself into the midst, but the Brahmans prevented him, saying: "The work of expiation is complete, inasmuch as the fault was of the mind and not of the body. The innocent should not be punished for the guilty, had your body been a participator in the crime, then indeed it had been necessary to have burnt it also. Your mind has already been punished and purified by fire." They then removed the Rai from the pyre, and he in celebration of this sacrifice, gave as a thank-offering one lac of Balotras, and bestowed large sums in charity.

"If a king be just, although he be an infidel,
His country will be secure from all injury
and loss."

MARCH OF THE KING OF ZABULISTAN UPON KANAUJ¹²
(I.xii.15.)

In the early part of their career there was friendship between the King of Zabulistan¹² and the Rai of Kanauj,

¹² (*This is another version of the story told by Abu*

but it ended in animosity and war. The King of Zabulistan marched against Kanauj with a large army. The Rai called together his advisers and asked their opinions, when each one spoke to the best of his ability. One of them said that he had a decided opinion on the matter, but he could only speak it in private. The Rai ordered the council chamber to be cleared, when the minister said: "War is attended with great dangers, and the result is doubtful; the best thing the Rai can do is to inflict punishment upon me and to drive me forth in disgrace to the highway, so that when the enemy shall approach, I may be taken to act as his guide. I will then lead them into the desert so that all may perish with thirst, and you will thus be relieved from all apprehension. The Rai praised him for the proposition he had made, and a few days after he put it in execution, giving orders for him to be expelled from the country. The Hindu then went and placed himself in the way of the King of Zabulistan, and when the King drew near with his army, the Hindu made his case known. The King said "How can a minister who has been thus treated have any kind feeling towards his persecutor?" The Hindu said, "All this was done on the absurd suspicion of my being friendly to you." He then added, "From this place where you now are to that where the Rai is, the distance is eleven days' journey by the desert, but no one besides me knows the road, and the Rai feels secure that your army cannot make the passage; if, however, you will assure my life and will hold out promises and hopes of reward, I will lead you by that way and enable you to take the Rai by surprise." The king gave orders for his army to provide eleven days' provision of grain and water, and plunged into the desert. After marching twelve days their water was

Rihan elsewhere; and a similar one is given with Mahmud for the hero, see infra).

exhausted, and they nowhere found a trace of any. The king called for the Hindu, and asked how it was that they had not come to any water. He replied: "I have accomplished my object in bringing you here, and have discharged my duty to my master. You are now in the middle of the desert, and no water is to be found within eleven days march—my work is done, do with me as you please." A cry arose from the bystanders, and a commotion broke out in the army. The king in the extremity of his despair mounted his horse and galloped in all directions. He perceived a hillock crowned with verdure, and joyfully directed his men to dig a well there. When they had sunk about ten yards they came upon some excellent water, at the sight of which the king and all his army gave thanks to God. Each man dug a well in front of his tent, and gained new life. The king then called together his elders, and asked what ought to be done to the man who had misled them. They all declared that he ought to be put to death with the most cruel tortures, and each one specified some particular mode of torture. But the king said, "My judgment is that you should give him a little water and let him go. What he has done has been out of pure devotion to his lord and master; to save him he has risked his own life. He has done what he intended, but our good fortune has rendered his scheme abortive." So they gave him water and permission to depart. The story of this incident spread, and through it the whole country of Kanauj was secured to him, and the people bowed their heads in obedience.

RAI KAMLU AND THE GOVERNOR OF ZABULISTAN¹³
(I.xii.18.)

It is related that 'Amru Lais conferred the governorship

¹³ (*The text of this story is printed in Thomas' Prinsep, Vol. I. 317*)

of Zabulistan on Fardaghan and sent him there at the head of four thousand horse. There was a large Hindu place of worship in that country, which was called Sakawand,¹⁴ and people used to come on pilgrimage from the most remote parts of Hindustan to the idols of that place. When Fardaghan arrived in Zabulistan he led his army against it, took the temple, broke the idols in pieces, and overthrew the idolators. Some of the plunder he distributed among the troops, the rest he sent to 'Amru Lais, informing him of the conquest, and asking for reinforcements.

When the news of the fall of Sakawand reached Kamlu,¹⁵ who was Rai of Hindustan, he collected an innumerable army and marched towards Zabulistan. Upon hearing of this march Fardaghan secured several Hindus and sent them to Hindustan. These men entered the camp of Kamlu and reported to him that when Fardaghan had conquered Sakawand, he immediately despatched people to different quarters of the country, calling for additional forces, knowing that the Hindu would certainly endeavour to take revenge. The result was that an army of Muhammadans had been collected around him, such as would coerce the very ends of the earth. Behind him also the army of 'Amru Lais was advancing, with the design of leading their antagonists into the defiles and there slaughtering them all. When Rai Kamlu heard this intelligence, he halted where he was, and was very cautious in his movements. In the meantime, Fardaghan received reinforcements from Khurasan, such that the enemy had not the power to cope with. By this ingenious device he succeeded in his object.

¹⁴ "Bahawand" in another place. (See elsewhere).

¹⁵ (Prinsep's MS. reads "Kalmu.")

DISCOVERY OF TREASURE

(I. vi. II)

There is a story to be found in some Hindu works, that a man having bought a house from another, began to make alterations in it. While prosecuting these he happened to light upon a concealed treasure. He took the money to the former owner, and said, "I have discovered this treasure under the wall of the house I purchased from you." The man replied—"I sold the house just as I bought it, and know nothing about the money. I cannot take it, as I do not believe myself to be entitled to it." On this they both agreed to go to the king and deliver the treasure up to him, that he might expend it on some work of public utility. Accordingly they went, and having represented the whole case, made the money over to the king. On this the king exclaimed—"You are people of the middle class, and meddle with what does not become you. I am entrusted with the responsible duty of managing and adjusting the affairs of my subjects, and to me God has entrusted the reins of government. How can I take this charitable money?" The men replied, "You are the king, and we come before you in this difficult case, in order that it might be settled by your justice and equity." The king then told them to make some marriage arrangement between their families. It happened that the seller of the house had a daughter, and the purchaser a son, so the daughter of the former, with the money in question as dowry, was given in marriage to the son of the latter. The king from an innate sense of justice, would not suffer the skirt of his robes of equity and righteousness to be soiled by the dirt of oppression and dishonesty.

THE HERB WHICH PRODUCES LONGEVITY

(I. vi. 14.)

I have read in a book that certain chiefs of Turkistan sent ambassadors with letters to the kings of India on

the following mission, viz.: that they, the chiefs, had been informed that in India drugs were procurable which possessed the property of prolonging human life, by the use of which the kings of India attained to a very great age. The Rais were careful in the preservation of their health, and the chiefs of Turkistan begged that some of this medicine might be sent to them, and also information as to the method by which the Rais preserved their health so long.¹⁶ The ambassadors having reached Hindustan, delivered the letters entrusted to them. The Rai of Hind having read them, ordered the ambassadors to be taken to the top of an excessively lofty mountain, and then he told them that, when the hill on which they then were should be rent asunder and thrown down, then he would give them their answers, and permission to return to their own country. The ambassadors on hearing this became greatly alarmed, and despaired of living to revisit their home, relations, and friends. They pitched their tents in the valleys, and fervently prayed to Almighty God for deliverance from their troubles. They spent their whole time in offering up prayers to heaven. In this manner a long time passed. At last having one day offered up their prayers to God most earnestly, they observed the mountain shaking. The sorrow of their hearts had moved the heart of the mountain. It began to totter, and presently its lofty summit toppled over and fell to the ground. Having lifted up their voices in praise and thanksgiving to God, they informed the Rai of what had occurred. The Rai said "this is my reply to your mission. Though you are few in number, having given up your minds to prayer, by the force of

¹⁶ *This was a favourite persuasion of the Orientals. In the fourth Book and fifteenth chapter of this work, the third story relates to a chief of Jalandhar, who had attained the age of 250 years.*

your devotions you have caused the mountain to fall down. Your kings rule tyrannically, so that the people pray earnestly for their destruction, and by means of their prayers they at last blast the prosperity and annihilate the power of their oppressors. It is the paramount duty of all those in whose hands authority and power are placed, to walk in the path of justice and benevolence, in order that those who are weak should be strengthened and protected by the law, and that those who are wealthy should enjoy their riches in peace and security. Wealth is but a faithless friend, and life but an uncertain companion; neither one nor the other is enduring and permanent."

SELF-POSSESSION OF AN INDIAN MINISTER

(I. xiv. 17.)

A certain Indian prince had in his employ a minister remarkable for his learning and wisdom. The prince had also some slave girls, who were most elegant and beautiful, and possessed of every imaginable charm. One day the minister went before the king while these slaves happened to be in attendance, for the transaction of certain business. The minister cast an eye of love on one of them, and then perceived that the prince was observing him. He therefore still kept his eye fixed in the same direction. For twenty years he continued in the prince's service, and every time he went into the presence he kept his eye fixed in that direction. By this means he allayed the royal jealousy, as the prince thought that the glance he had observed was not intentional, but merely the effect of a natural squint.

THE ARMING OF YA'KUB LAIS

(I. xiii. 35)

At the commencement of the career of Ya'kub Lais, a body of his friends bound themselves to raise him to the dignity of chief. When Salih Nasr had taken Sistan,

and become powerful, they observed to Yakub that Salih had grown strong, and that if he did not take heed at once, he would not be able to do much afterwards. Yakub consulted with an old and wise man in this matter, who said, "It is as your friends have told you, something must be done instantly." Yakub then asked him what steps he should take, and the old man replied that there were two divisions of Salih's army—one the Sanjaris, the other the Bustis, and the best thing he could do was to irritate the Sanjaris by telling them that though battles were won by their hard fighting, the plunder obtained by the conquests was carried off by the Bustis. "By your persuading them of this," said the old man, "hostility will be created between them. They will separate from each other; and in all probability the Sanjaris will come over to you, because they are fully aware of your skill and address, and of the courage you have shown in battle; they are also conscious of your having saved them from the Kharijis." Ya'kub acted upon this advice, and so worked upon the Sanjaris, that enmity sprung up between them and the Bustis, and Salih Nasr found himself in a very precarious situation. The Sanjari troops went over to Yakub, and when Salih Nasr saw that affairs were come to extremities, he proceeded with his army of Bustis towards the enemy. Ya'kub, Ibrahim and Hafz came forward and encamped at the pass of Ghanjara. Ya'kub resolved to make a night attack, and Salih being apprized of it, fled in alarm towards Bust. Thus did Ya'kub, by a clever stratagem, obtain the victory over his enemy.

YA'KUB LAIS AND RUSAL

(I. xiii. 21.)

Almighty God endowed Ya'kub Lais with a very lofty mind so that he rose from the most abject position to the highest pitch of glory and prosperity. He encountered

many dangers and passed through great difficulties, till at length he aspired to the acquisition of dominion. When Salih Nasr¹⁷ fled from before him, he went and joined Rusal,¹⁸ and excited him to collect his troops and march against Ya'kub Lais. Rusal assembled his armies, and placed Salih Nasr at the head of the foremost division. Y'akub Lais on receiving the intelligence, called together some old and experienced men and asked their advice as to the means of repelling the invasion of Rusal. They advised him to oppose the enemy, and represented that although he had a small force, yet he ought to trust in the help of God, and resort to every wile and stratagem to harass his opponent, but not to engage in a pitched battle. When Yakub reviewed his army, it was found not to consist of more than three thousand horse. However, he proceeded to oppose Rusal, and when he reached Bust, people derided him, saying, "How can he fight against Rusal with this small number of horse?" Ya'kub Lais now had recourse to stratagem and deception. He sent one of his confidential servants to Rusal with a message to say that, he wished to come and meet him, and render him homage; he knew he was not able to cope with such a potentate, but that if he should tell his people that he was going to meet Rusal, they would not obey him, and might possibly kill both him and his dependents. He had consequently told them he was proceeding to give battle to his enemy, in order to induce them to accompany him; but that when he should join Rusal and make his submission, they must perforce fol-

¹⁷ *In one of the stories of the next chapter Ya'kub is said to have been the darwan, or doorkeeper of Salih Nasr.*

¹⁸ *In most of the passages where the name recurs in this story it is spelt as "Rusal," but in one as "Ratbal," and in another as "Ratbil." (Prinsep's MS. has "Rasal" and "Rutsal," but Thomas' "Zambil.")*

low his example. When the ambassadors of Ya'kub came to Rusal and delivered the message to him, it was very agreeable to him, because he was greatly harassed by Yakub, who continually made incursions into his country, and attacked it in different directions. He made the ambassadors welcome, and sent messages to Ya'kub, giving him many kind promises and holding out hopes of preferment. Ya'kub despatched his messengers one after the other, and to prevent his followers from being disheartened he told them that he had sent the messengers to reconnoitre the enemy's army.

When both the armies came in front of each other, Rusal called Salih Nasr and told him that as the enemy had come to proffer his submission, there must be no fighting. A day was fixed for a parley between the parties. It was not the habit of Rusal to ride a horse, but he used to sit on a throne which a party of his servants carried on their shoulders. When both the armies were drawn up in array, Rusal seated himself upon his throne and ordered his troops to stand in line on each side of it. Ya'kub with his three thousand brave horsemen advanced between these two lines, and his men carried their lances concealed behind their horses and wearing coats of mail under their garments. The Almighty made the army of Rusal blind, so that they did not see the lances. When Ya'kub drew near Rusal, he bowed his head as if to do homage, but he raised the lance and thrust it into the back of Rusal, so that he died on the spot. His people also fell like lightning upon the enemy, cutting them down with their swords, and staining the earth with the blood of the enemies of religion. The infidels, when they saw the head of Rusal upon the point of a spear, took to flight, and great bloodshed ensued. The bride of victory drew aside her veil and Ya'kub returned victorious. Next day six thousand horsemen of the infidels were sent prisoners to Sistan. He also placed sixty of their officers on asses, and having hung the ears of the slain upon the

necks of these officers, he sent them in this manner to Bust. In this conquest he obtained such immense treasure and property that conjecture cannot make an estimate of them.

Salih Nasr fled from the field and went to the king of Zabulistan. His troops deserted him and joined Ya'kub, who, after he had secured peace to the country, sent a messenger to the ruler of Zabulistan requesting him to surrender Salih Nasr. His request was complied with; and when Salih came, Ya'kub put him in prison, where he died. The hostility which the people of Bust had shown to Yakub, he now retaliated upon them. He fixed the same poll-tax upon them as was levied from the Jews, and this was collected with severity. This victory which he achieved was the result of treachery and deception, such as no one had ever committed.

SURRENDER OF GHAZVIN TO ALPTIGIN (I. vi. 25.)

When Alptigin, the master of Subuktigin, deserted the Samanians and went to Ghaznin, they were by his departure reduced to great destitution, and serious disturbances broke out in the country. We will make mention in the proper place of this occurrence, as well as of his reasons for separating himself from them. On his reaching Ghaznin, the garrison shut themselves up in the fort and refused to surrender to him. He, therefore, pitched his camp without, and speedily possessed himself of the suburbs and surrounding country.

There he exercised his power with such impartiality and regard for justice, that the people around were in the enjoyment of perfect peace. One day he was going along the road when he perceived a party of his servants coming from a village, with poultry slung from their saddlestraps. Having stopped them, he enquired how the fowls came into their possession. They pretended that they had purchased them in a neighbouring village. On this

Alptigin sent a horseman to the village with instructions to bring the head man of it into his presence. When he was brought, Alptigin asked him whether the men had bought the fowls or seized them by force. The man appeared desirous of hiding the truth, so Alptigin told him to tell the truth on pain of punishment. The man then said, "When a Turk comes into a village he does not buy fowls but always takes them by force." On hearing this, Alptigin gave orders that the culprits should be punished with death. Those around implored mercy, and entreated that some lesser punishment than death might be inflicted on the thieves. He complied with this request, and ordered the offender's ears to be bored and the birds to be suspended from them by a string tied to their legs. This having been done, the birds, in struggling to escape, so flapped and beat with their wings the men's heads and faces that blood flowed copiously from the wounds inflicted. In this condition they were paraded through the army. The news of this act of justice having reached the ears of the people, they all assembled together, and agreed that a man so upright and just was worthy to be their ruler. That very evening they went to him and agreed upon the terms of capitulation. The following day the city was surrendered. So, by this one act of judicious impartiality he became possessed of the city of Ghaznin, which rose to be the shrine of prosperity and abode of wealth.

BRAVERY OF AMIR SUBUKTIGIN

(I. xiii. 24.)

When Bilkatigin¹⁹ went towards Ghaznin, the Samanians were informed that the Turks were coming from Khurasan. He (the king) sent his minister. Abu Is'hak, with

¹⁹ (See a coin of this chief and some observations on the time of his reign by Thomas in *Jour. R. A. S.* Vol. xvii. p. 140. See also *Tabakat-i Nasiri*.)

a large body of men, and another force also to stop the advance of the enemy. When information of this design reached Bilkatigin, he despatched Subuktigin with his followers to frustrate it. Subuktigin observed that the passes were narrow and difficult, and that his enemies were acquainted with them, while he was a stranger. He therefore considered it advisable to employ stratagem in resisting them. So he proceeded to the head of one of the passes and there formed three ambuscades, in which he placed some of his men, while he with another party advanced into the pass. When the enemy saw the smallness of his force they came out and attacked him. Subuktigin pretending to fly from before them, induced them to leave the passes in which they were posted, and they were thus drawn out into the open plain. Amir Subuktigin then made such an attack on them that the earth shook, and the enemy fled with precipitation to seek safety among the passes.

Subuktigin then let loose his three ambuscades, and these falling on the foe ere they reached the defiles, not one of them escaped. Subuktigin then cleared the passes of the enemy's men, and he (Bilkatigin) having witnessed the dauntless courage of Subuktigin, spoke of him in terms of admiration. He went through the passes in safety, so that not a single camel was missing and this was solely attributable to the judgment of Subuktigin.

THE VIGILANCE OF SUBUKTIGIN

(II. xv. 6.)

When Bilkatigin²⁰ came from Khurasan to Ghaznin and took possession of the country, the chief of it, Abu 'Ali

²⁰ (The munshi's translation had the name "Alptigin," on which Sir H. Elliot made a note that another copy (Ratan Singh's) read "Badkatigin." The name is Bilkatigin in Prinsep's MS., and consequently I have substituted that name in the translation.)

Kubak,²¹ abandoned it.²² Bilkatigin soon gave himself up to debauchery, and entrusted Subuktigin with the management of the city. In this high post, Subuktigin discharged the duties with great efficiency and courage, and with all vigilance and care. One day, Amir Bilkatigin took wine, and held a great carouse, and from early dawn to midnight was engaged in drinking. He also endeavoured to persuade Subuktigin to drink, but without success. When the curtain of darkness was drawn over the face of the sun, Amir Bilkatigin fell into a sound sleep, but Subuktigin was very watchful and his eyes were open like the stars. Suddenly he heard a noise which proceeded from some corner, and immediately after it was followed by an uproar. With lamps and torches he went in that direction, and then he saw a body of armed men standing in the street, ready to raise a tumult. He demanded, in a loud voice, who they were? They gave an incoherent reply. Subuktigin threatened to attack them, when they were constrained to confess that a body of malcontents had conspired to make a rising that very night, and, as a sign of their success, to light a fire upon the roof of the fort. At this signal, Abu 'Ali was to bring up his force, capture Bilkatigin and his adherents, and drive all his troops out of the country. Subuktigin, on hearing these words, killed four men upon the spot and rushed out of the fort. He found a large number of men

²¹ (Prinsep's MS. has "Amir Ali Kubad, and when the name next occurs, Kubak. Sir H. Elliot read the name as "Uvek." The *Tabakat-i Nasiri* reads the name Amir Anuk. See *Journal R.A.S.*, xvii. p. 141.)

²² M. Reinaud observes that Ibn Haukal, who, in consequence of his personal acquaintance with Abu Is'hak Ibrahim, might be supposed to be well acquainted with the affairs of the Ghaznivides, does not mention to whom Ghazni belonged when it was taken by Alptigin—*Memoire sur l' Inde*, p. 244.

assembled in arms, who were waiting for Abu 'Ali Kubak. He put them all to the sword, and then advanced against Abu 'Ali. He took his brother prisoner, and then returned to the city. When morning dawned, Amir Subuktigin brought some of the insurgents, with the heads of some of those he had killed, to Bilkatigin, and related the whole story of the transactions of that night. The Amir expressed admiration of his conduct, and considered him worthy of great favours; and because he was very cautious and never negligent of his enemy, he appointed him his deputy and elevated his rank above that of all his equals. He also rewarded his companions with five hundred thousand dirhams. All this was the fruit of watchfulness. Wise men know that vigilance is necessary in all circumstances.

MAHMUD'S YOUTHFUL STRATEGY

(IV. xx. 6.)

It is related by Abu-n Nasr 'Utbi in his work called *Tarikh Yamini*²³ that the King of Kabul made war upon the Muhammadans at the beginning of the career of Nasiru-d daula Subuktigin. When intelligence of this war was brought to the Amir Nasiru-d din, he called out his forces from Khurasan to oppose him. Sultan Mahmud was then about fourteen years of age. Amir Nasiru-d din summoned his officers and consulted with them upon the plan to be pursued. Amir Mahmud gave it as his opinion that the best course was to go in advance of the army and seek a strong place in the mountains, where they might make themselves secure, and from whence they might make nocturnal and unexpected assaults upon the enemy. They would thus prevent the foe from advancing against them, and distress him with incessant raids. The counsel was approved by all, and Amir Basiru-d din advanced and occupied a posi-

²³(*Prinsep's M.S. reads "Tarikhi-Daulat-i Yamini."*)

tion near Baghru.²⁴ The King of Kabul marched thither with a countless army, and for some time the opposing forces encamped there.

One day a woman of the neighbourhood came to Amir Nasiru-d din and told him that there was a spring not far off in the mountains which had this property, that if filth was cast into it the sky became overcast, snow and storms followed, and the weather became so cold that no one in these parts could endure it. This cold and foul weather would last as long as the filth remained in the fountain. He sent and had some dirt thrown into the spring. Cold and stormy weather followed. The army of Hind was reduced to extremities, and the Musulmans were completely victorious.

SULTAN MAHMUD AND THE SISTER OF AYAZ

(II. xxi. 8.)

It is said that Sultan Yaminu-d daula Mahmud Subuktigin had been long enamoured of the sister of Ayaz—he was sincerely attached to her, and anxious to espouse her. But it occurred to him that he might by this act incur the reproaches of the neighbouring kings and princes, and forfeit the respect and esteem of his own servants. This apprehension he entertained for a long time.

Abu Nasr Mishkani says—"I was one night in attendance on the king, and when all the assembly was gone, he stretched out his legs and ordered me to "shampoo" them. I knew that he certainly intended to tell me some secret. At last he said, "It is a maxim with wise men that there are three people from whom a secret should not be concealed, viz. a skilful physician, a kind preceptor, and a wise servant. I have been long greatly perplexed, but I will this night unburden my mind and learn your opinion on the matter." I

²⁴ (*The first letter has no point.*)

observed, "I am not worthy of the high honour done me by the king, but as he, in his high wisdom has determined it, I will to the best of my ability represent what may appear to me as good or evil in the matter." The king said, "It has long been a secret within me, that I am desirous of espousing the sister of Ayaz. But will not the neighbouring kings call me a fool and low-minded, and will not you also, my servants and slaves, speak ill of me in respectable society? I ask your advice in this matter; respectable society. I ask your advice in this matter; have you ever heard or read, in any history, of kings wedding the children of their slaves?" I made obeisance and said—"Many cases similar to this have occurred. Several kings of the Samanian dynasty married their own slave girls. This act will not seem to the world as derogatory to the king's honour and rectitude. Perhaps your Majesty is unaware that Kubad, at the time he went to Turkistan, took as his wife the daughter of a villager, from whom was born Naushirwan. In Persian history, I have also read that Bahram Gur married a washerman's daughter. The Sultan asked me the particulars of the story, so I said, "I have heard that one day Bahram Gur went out hunting, and having started a stag, followed it so far that he became separated from his train. He felt thirsty and went towards a village. He there saw a washerman sitting on the edge of a pond washing clothes; his wife and daughter were sitting by him with a heap of clothes ready to be washed. Bahram approached them, and said, 'O washerman, give me some water to drink.' The washerman stood up, and having paid him the usual marks of respect, ordered his wife to fetch some water for the king. She took the cup, and having washed it several times in clean water, said to her daughter, 'I am not a virgin, man's hand has touched me, but you, who are an unbored pearl, should give the water to the king, who, looking at her, perceived that she was in-

comparably beautiful and charming, and possessed of excellent disposition and manners. He then asked the washerman if he would admit him as a guest for that day, who replied, that if the king could be contented with dry bread he would spare nothing in his power; saying this, he spread a clean cloth on the bank, and Bahram sat down. The washerman then took his horse and fastened it to a tree, and gave his daughter a fine cloth with which she fanned the king, and protected him from flies. He himself hastened to the village and procured food, wine, meat, in short, everything on which he could lay his hand, he brought. He gave his daughter the wine and cup, and ordered her to act as cup-bearer to the king. On which she cleansed the cup, and having filled it with wine, brought it to the king, who took her hand within his—she kissed them. Bahram said, 'O girl, the lips are the place to kiss and not the hand.' The girl paid her respects, and said that the time had not yet come for that. The king was surprised at the elegance of her appearance and the eloquence of her speech. They were thus engaged when the train of Bahram appeared in sight. He told the girl to conceal her face, on which she pulled her veil over it. He then on that spot having performed the nuptial ceremony, placed her on an elephant under a canopy, and made her father ride away with them; her mother also accompanied them."

When the Emperor heard this story, he was much pleased, and bestowed presents upon me: saying, "You have relieved me of this care." After two days he espoused the sister of Ayaz.

ANECDOTE OF SULTAN MAHMUD

(I. xii. 9.)

When Khwaja Ahmad acted as minister to Sultan Mahmud (may God be merciful to him!) all the principal officers of State were inimical to him and traduced

him to the Emperor, who thus contracted a great dislike to him, and was desirous of removing him from office. On this subject Abu Nasr Mishkan says that Arslan wrote him a letter, saying that "The king is displeased with Khwaja Ahmad, and we, his Majesty's servants, must beware of resisting his will. But in common charity we are bound to declare what we know or have heard. Khwaja Ahmad is undoubtedly the most able minister of the time, and has been very useful to our sovereign. He has long been in government employ and has experienced great changes of fortune. It is now some time since he was appointed Minister of State, and now all men of influence, rank, and dignity are his enemies. The cause of their hatred to him is his devotion to his master, and his disregard of their wishes and pleasure. His associates in office are also inimical to him for the same reason. You would do right to communicate this letter to his Majesty, although I know that his mind has been so perverted by them that my counsel will be useless. Still the time may come when his Majesty may feel some regret, when he will not check but excuse our representations."

Abu Nasr Mishkan continues: I read the letter and for a long time I was watching for an opportunity to lay it before the king. I also received constant messages from the minister imploring my support and assistance. I replied that it would not do to be precipitate, but that I must wait till a suitable occasion offered itself.

The Sultan Mahmud also knew that I was watching my opportunity, but he kept strict silence on this matter, till at length it happened one day that the Sultan went out on a hunting excursion, and though it was not customary with me to attend him, yet on this occasion I did so. The Sultan asked me why I, who never went out hunting, had now come with him. I replied that it was always the duty of a servant to attend

on his master. The Sultan then said, "I know that you have come in order that you might speak to me about Ahmad, but matters like this ought not to be forced upon me." I replied, "May your Majesty's judgment be always right!" He then became silent and spoke not another word. That day and that night passed by. On the next night the Sultan was drinking wine and enjoying himself, when he made me sit down with him, and he talked upon all sorts of topics. At length he asked me if I had ever heard or had ever read in any book that ministers were their king's enemies. I said, "No; but I have read that the man is foolish and stupid who seeks to be a minister." He asked wherefore, and I replied, "Kings cannot endure that any one should share authority, nor will they allow any one but themselves to give orders. If the office of minister is given to one who is looked upon as the dearest of friends, before a week has passed he is deemed an enemy and is depised." Nothing further passed at this meeting. After his return to Ghaznin, he was sitting one night alone, and calling for me, bade me be seated, and said, "Hitherto I have kept silence with you regarding Ahmad. Now be mindful that you tell me the truth without equivocation or reservation." I replied that I would obey his Majesty. He observed that Ahmed was an experienced and well qualified minister, who had been in the service from his youth, and had conferred lustre on his office, but he held his master in slight esteem, and he was at the same time covetous of the wealth of the Musulmans, which he extorted from them, and opposed the king's orders. He said that he had been informed of many oppressive acts towards the slaves (*ghulam*) and such people. That he had resolved on his dismissal, and that all with whom he had consulted on this business had concurred with him. He then asked me what I had to say on the subject. I replied, that "What your Majesty in your wisdom deems

most advisable is certainly best,—who can gainsay it?" The king then insisted on my expressing an opinion,—I said, "Arslan Jazib²⁵ had sent me a letter," and having it with me, I showed it to him, and begged his permission to give him my views on the case to the best of my ability. The king consenting, ordered me to speak. I then said,—“If the charges of oppression and opposition which have been brought against the Khwaja are proved to your Majesty's satisfaction, they must not be passed over, but punishment must be meted out to the minister, so that no injury may come to the country. But if, on the other hand, merely suspicions have been excited in the king's mind, then search and enquiry must be patiently made throughout the country for a man competent to fill Ahmad's place. On such a man being found, then his Majesty may follow his own will and pleasure. If one cannot be found, the greatest precautions must be taken.” Having finished, the king said he would consider of it, and gave me permission to depart. At last, the Khwaja was deprived of his situation and imprisoned, but the king soon regretted it, for the affairs of the State and country fell into great confusion.

DEPRECIATION OF COIN

(I. xii. 14.)

When Yaminu-d daula Mahmud came to the throne, and the effects of his greatness spread through all countries, and his rule swept away the idol temples and scattered the worshippers, some sharp men of India formed a plan (for enriching themselves). They brought out a dirham of great purity and placed a suitable price upon it. Time passed on and the coin obtained currency. Merchants coming from Muham-

²⁵ (One MS. calls him "Jazib," another "Khariz." Baihaki uses the former name. See "Subuktigin.")

madan countries used to purchase these dirhams and carry them to Khurasan. When the people had grown accustomed to the value of the coin, the Indians began by degrees to debase the standard. The merchants were unaware of this depreciation, and finding a profit upon silver, they brought that metal and gold from all parts of the world, and sold it for (debased coins of) copper and brass, so that by this trick the wealth of the Muhammadans was drawn to Hindustan.

When 'Alau-d daula²⁶ ascended the throne, this grievance had become intolerable, and he determined to remedy it, and consulted with the merchants as to the measures most proper to be taken to effect this purpose. They advised that the debased coinage should be exchanged for good from the royal treasury. Accordingly 'Alau-d daula gave the necessary orders, and 100,000,000 dirhams were issued from the treasury to the mint, and thence distributed to the servants of the Almighty as redress and compensation. The fame of this act spread the lustre of 'Alau-d daula's glory throughout the world.²⁷

ANECDOTE OF KHWAJA HUSAN MAIMANDI

(III. xi. 1)

In the reign of Sultan Yaminu-d daula Mahmud,' and in the days when Khwaja Hasan Maimandi was his minister, there was a man called Abu Ahmad Suhail Barar. He was a great spendthrift, a speculator and a wine-bibber. At one time twenty thousand *mans* of indigo, which belonged to the Sultan, fell into the hands of the son of Ahmad.²⁸ Some of this he sold and

²⁶ " 'Alau-d daula' is not the title of the Mas'ud who succeeded Muhamud, but of Mas'ud III.

²⁷ (A translation of this story is given by Thomas in *Jour. R. A. 8., Vol. xvii. p. 181.*)

²⁸ It appears from a statement of Ibn Haukal, that

spent the proceeds. One day, Abu Suhail Barar came to the minister to pay his respects. The minister said, "I have heard that your son has embezzled government property, when you saw him doing so why did you connive at it? Do you think that I will pass it over? Should he who possesses such a name as Ahmad ('most laudable') be such a fool and commit such follies?" In short, he expressed himself in unmeasured terms. Abu Suhail exclaimed, "May your life, my lord, be increased! pardon my son; his name is Ahmad, and he should be forgiven." The Khwaja was extremely annoyed, but laughed at his ignorance and folly. He said to Abu Suhail, "You are worse than your son. Curses be upon you, thoughtless fool." Abu Suhail, on hearing this abuse, did not even then perceive that what he had said (was improper), nor did he consider that his name was Ahmad, and that it did not become him to utter such words. He commenced to retort in disrespectful language, and said, "Perhaps somebody has excited you against me, and consequently you are thus angry with me." The Khwaja replied, "No, I have heard it from your own tongue." He then dismissed him ignominiously from his service.

It is proper for those who have access to kings and great men, that they should take heed to their actions and speech, and neither do or say anything boldly and rashly, to bring shame and destruction upon themselves. They should behave respectfully towards their master, so that they may reap the benefit of their services.

ANECDOTE OF MUHMUD

(I. xi. 46.)

One night Sultan Mahmud was drinking wine, while the Sultans used to reserve a large portion of indigo to themselves as a sort of royalty.—See M. Reinaud, *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 245.

his sons, Muhammad and Mas'ud, were present. Abu Nasr Mishkan says that, when some time had passed in this manner, the conversation happened to turn upon Amir Subuktigin, when the Sultan offered up prayers for his father, and his eyes were filled with tears. He said, "My father (may God's mercy be on him!) had established very good rules for the management of the country, and took great pains in enforcing them. I thought that when he should be no more, I should enjoy the exercise of my power in peace and security, and eat and enjoy myself. I also considered that after his demise I should become a great king. But the truth was revealed to me when he died and his shadow was removed from my head, for since his departure I have not had one day's happiness. You think I drink this wine for pleasure, but this is a great mistake. I take it merely as a device to gain a few days' peace, and relieve the people from all annoyance from me. These my sons entertain similar ideas to those which I did in my youth; but when the kingdom devolves upon them, they will find out the truth."

His sons made their obeisances and said, "May such thoughts never enter our minds. We both desire to sacrifice our lives at your Majesty's feet." The king commended them and bade them to sit down, which they did, but they soon afterwards departed. He then (says Abu Nasr) called me to him, and making me sit down, he stretched his legs towards my lap, and I shampooed them for a short time. He asked me what I thought of his sons, I kissed the ground and answered, "What can I say, how can tongue describe the excellencies of those two suns of gandeur, and those two moons of the heaven of prosperity! Thank God, they possess such qualities as are beyond all expression." He said, "The excellence you ascribe to them does not

mean much.”²⁹ (I said) “Fathers know best the character of their sons.” He then enquired whether I had a son. I replied, “Yes, I have one, his Majesty’s slave.” He said, “Tell me by my soul and head, is he like you, and as worthy as you?” I answered, “My lord, you know all, but my son is young, and not old enough to have shown what his real disposition is.” On this the king observed, “Let him grow up and then you will see that he will not be worth your finger; if he is he will be one of the marvels and wonders of the time. “Masud,” he continued, “is a proud fellow and thinks there is nobody better than himself. Muhammad is stout of heart, generous, and fearless, and if Mas’ud indulges in pleasure, wine, and the like, Muhammad outdoes him. He has no control over himself, has no apprehension of Masul, and is heedless of the important concerns of life. I fear I find but little satisfaction in the thought of Muhammad succeeding me; for woe to him at the hands of Mas’ud, who will devour him, and woe also to the generals of my army, for Mas’ud is a very covetous man and has great love of money. If he should hear of any officer possessing a little property, he will be sure to destroy him in a few days, and appoint some worthless fellow in his place. It will thus come to pass that in this great kingdom every one will strive to benefit himself, and you may imagine the pass to which matters will come.” I replied, “My lord, may you ever enjoy sovereignty! dominion in this kingdom will for ever remain in this family!” The conversation was continued for some time in this strain, and when the Sultan went to sleep, I returned. Eventually what the king had said came to pass in every particular. The history of Muhammad and Mas’ud is well known, and will be related in this book in its proper place.

²⁹ (*The MSS. differ slightly here, but the sense appears to be as translated.*)

MAHMUD'S RETURN FROM SOMNAT
(I. xii. 16.)

A stratagem similar to that narrated in the last story³⁰ was employed when Sultan Yaminu-d daula was returning from Somnat. Two Hindus came to him and offered themselves as guides. They led the way for three days and conducted him into a desert where there was neither water nor grass. The Sultan asked them what kind of road they called that by which they had come, and whether there were any habitations in the neighbourhood? They replied that they had been commissioned by the Rai, their chief, and had fearlessly devoted themselves to the work of bringing him thither. "Now you have," continued they, "the sea (*darya 'azim*) before you, and the army of Hind behind. We have done our business, now do you do with us what you like, for not one single man of your army will escape." In the midst of this conversation, a water-fowl was suddenly seen flying in the air. The Sultan said, where there are water-fowl there must be sweet water, and proceeded after it. At length he reached the banks of a great river, the water of which was very brackish and quite unfit to drink. He was in this plight when he perceived another water-fowl, he followed it up and came to a village in which they discovered sweet water. He then ordered a suitable punishment to be inflicted on the two guides. Upon searching the village they found an 'Alawi (descendant of 'Ali) who was dwelling there with his family. The asked him if he knew the road, but he declared his ignorance, adding that there was an old man in another village who knew all the intricacies of the roads.

The Sultan then had the 'Alawi and his sons mounted on camels, and went with them to the village mentioned. He called the old man before him and

³⁰ (*See supra.*)

inquired where the ford was. The old man said he had never seen any one cross the river excepting on one occasion when it was crossed by a body of men, but the place where they passed he could not tell. Had he strength to walk, perhaps he might find it out. On this the Sultan ordered him to be placed on horseback, and the old man led them to a certain spot on the bank of river, when he said, I think this was the place where the passage was made. The Sultan sent some men into the river, but nowhere did they find it fordable. The Sultan, casting himself upon the protection of Providence, regardless of himself and fearless of the consequences, with the name of God upon his tongue, urged his horse into the stream. His whole army and all his attendants followed his example, and, with the assistance of God, crossed the water in safety. This was one of the many marvellous deeds of the Sultan, in which also the treachery of the infidels became evident to all men.

DESTRUCTION OF ROBBERS BY SULTAN MAS'UD
(I. xiii. 47.)

When Sultan Mahmud sent costly presents to the ruler of Kirman, the ambassador who took them proceeded via Tabbas. In the desert of Khabis³¹ there was a body of Kafaj³² and Buluchis who robbed on the highway. They were eighty in number, and had built a stronghold upon an eminence, and had sunk a well. They had committed many robberies, but their conduct had never yet reached the ears of the Sultan. When the ambassador came to this place these people came out

³¹ (*Khabis in Kirman. Variouslly written in the MSS. as Habas, Hasar, Hasir, Habis, and Khabis.*)

³² (*So in Thomas' MS. The word representing Kafaj is illegible in Prinsep's MS., and is omitted in Ratan Singh's).*

and carried off all the presents and rarities in his possession. Some of the men attached to the embassy were slain, but others who escaped returned to Tabbas, and there reported the circumstance to the Sultan, who was proceeding from Ghaznin to Khwarizm by way of Bust. When he arrived at Bust, Sultan Mas'ud came from Hirat and met him. On his arrival, the Sultan would not look at him or give him his hand, but appeared evidently displeased with him. Mas'ud was greatly alarmed, and kissing the ground he asked what fault he had committed? The Sultan replied, "How can I be pleased with you, and why should I look at you? You are my son, and yet robberies are committed under your nose without your knowing anything about them?" He replied, "Oh king, I was staying in Hirat, and if robberies are committed in the desert of Khabis, what fault is it of mine?" The king replied, "I care not what you say, but I will not look at you unless you bring all the thieves to me, either alive or dead." Sultan Mas'ud, after his interview with Sultan, returned to Hirat, and there having chosen a party of two hundred men he started in search of the robbers, making continual enquiries about them. On approaching their fort, it occurred to him that they would probably have spies about, and that on hearing of the approach of so large a body of horse, they would take to flight. He therefore ordered fifty horsemen to fasten on their turbans, give their horses their heads, hide their arms under their saddles, so that no one could see them, and to ride forward and keep the enemy engaged until he should come up. He himself slowly followed with 150 horse. The robbers fought strenuously seeing only a few horsemen before them, but suddenly the Sultan Mas'ud came up in the rear and captured them all. Not one of them escaped, forty were slain, and forty were sent prisoners to the Sultan. Large booty also was taken. The Sultan ordered them to be punished,

and they were executed in a most ignominious way. The fame of his vigilance and justice thus spread far and wide.

POISONING A BAND OF ROBBERS

I. xiii. 48.

A band of robbers had collected in the desert of Kirman, and whenever the king sent a force against them they saved themselves by flight. Sultan Mas'ud was informed of this when he was king in 'Irak, and after some consideration he hit upon a plan for getting rid of them. Some poison was taken out of the store-house, and a quantity of apples were brought from Isfahan. He then directed a trusty servant to make holes in the apples with a bodkin and to introduce the poison. When the apples were all poisoned, they were given in charge of a caravan that was passing through the desert. A party of the king's men was also sent with the caravan, and directed to lag behind when they approached the haunt of the robbers. The caravan would no doubt be attacked and taken, and the robbers would eat up the apples and all of them would die. The king's men were then to advance and liberate the caravan. This scheme was effectually carried out. The thieves, delighted with their prize, devoured the apples, and no one that ate thereof ever rose again. Sultan Masud's men then came up, released the merchants, and restored them their goods without any loss. By this ingenious scheme³³ the robbers were destroyed without giving any trouble to the soldiers. The wise may thus thus learn that stratagem will accomplish that which a thousand horsemen cannot effect.

CONQUEST OF GHOR BY SULTAN MAS'UD

III. xii. 9.

An injured man came to Sultan Mas'ud and complained

³³*Hilah-i latif*, "a clever or pleasant trick."

that as he was proceeding to Ghor, the chief of the country seized and forcibly took from him all his property. A letter was consequently written to the chief directing the restoration of the man's property. The man got the letter and took it to the chief of Ghor. The chief was vexed, and ordered him to be punished. The man returned to Ghaznin and complained once more against the Ghorians. The Sultan directed that another letter should be written in threatening terms, that if the chief did not in every way satisfy the man, he would march against him and humble his pride. The man said, "O king, direct that the letter be written in as small a compass as possible, because I shall be forced to swallow it, and if there is but a small quantity of paper it will be the easier to get down." Sultan Mas'ud was extremely incensed at this, and on the same day pitched his tents, and marched against Ghor. He took possession of the country, and chastised the chief, returning to the poor man more than had been taken from him. The Amir of Ghor was thus punished for his tyranny.

THE PUNISHMENT OF TUMAN³⁴

III. xix. 7.

It is related in the Tarikh-i Nasiri that during the time Amir 'Abdu-r Rashid reigned at Ghaznin, he had a young slave named Tuman, a man of bad disposition, base and low minded. 'Abdu-r Rashid was, however, favourably disposed towards him, and conferred on him a high rank. The slave began to interfere in the affairs of government, and being a mean and worthless fellow he did all in his power to ruin and extirpate the nobles and great men. He showed favour to Abu Suhail Razihi, and they both joined cause and conspired

³⁴ (*I have not found this story in the MSS. that I have used.—Ed.*)

against the great Khwaja, the minister of the throne 'Abdu-r Razzak. He quarrelled with Ahnada Maimani and had him suspended and called to account. He elevated his own brother, called Mubarak Marde, to high rank, and at last entrusted him with several offices at Parshawar. He encouraged tale-bearers and back-biters, and these people obtained great influence at court. They gave false reports, representing that the assignments were in excess of the authorised amount, and this brought destruction upon the kingdom, for the government servants and the orphans were subjected to reductions in a manner which had not been restored to by any one before.

Amongst the other slaves who were notorious for their wickedness and bad character, was one whose name was Khatib Lut. This man was exalted by him and made accountant of the state, an office which had been held by Khwaja Abu Tahir Hussain with great credit and to the satisfaction of the government. When three months had elapsed after the Khwaja's appointment, he was ordered to go to Hindustan, and after collecting the revenues of that country, to return to the capital.

Khwaja Abu Tahir proceeded to Hindustan, and in every place that he visited he found an agent of Tuman oppressing the people and exercising authority; and thus great embarrassment had arisen in the affairs of the state. The Khwaja reported all the circumstances to the Secretary of State, which office was then held by Abu-l Fazl Baihaki. When numerous reports had been received from Husain, Sultan 'Abdu-r Rashid threatened Tuman with condign punishment. Tuman now became an enemy of Abu-l Fazl, and secretly circulated false reports against him. The Sultan, without investigation, ordered Tuman to seize and imprison Abu-l Fazl, and plunder his house and property.

When Abu-l Fazl was removed, Tuman had an un-

bounded field for the exercise of his power. He conferred a khilat of investiture on Khatib Lut, and sent him to Parshawar. This officer lighted the fire of oppression, and exalted the standard of bloodshed. He made all kinds of demands upon the people. When Khwaja Husain reached Parshawar to examine and report upon the affairs of that province, people complained to him against the Khatib. The Khwaja admonished him, but it was all in vain. The Khatib gave him disrespectful replies and uttered abusive words against him to his very face. Husain could not restrain his indignation, and ordered him to be taken away from his presence. The matter was reported to Tuman, who told 'Abdu-r Rashid that as Khatib Lut was aware that Husain had unlawfully exacted money from the people, the latter had thrown the Khatib into prison with the view that he might retain in safety the money which Husain had extorted.

When Tuman had made these representations, Amir 'Abdu-r Rashid ordered him to go and bring Husain a prisoner to the court. Tuman marched the same night to Parshawar with three hundred thousand³⁵ horse, and when he arrived there he showed the royal mandate to the governor of the place. He seized Khwaja Husain, and took Khatib out of prison. He dishonoured and disgraced many good Musulmans, and then returned to the court.

Khwaja Husain was put in heavy chains, and when they had reached the pass at Budri some horsemen came and reported that Amir 'Abdu-r Rashid had himself been murdered, and that the ingrate Tughril had usurped the government. On receiving this intelligence, the soldiers, horse and foot, all came forward to Khwaja Husain and said unto him, "circumstances have now

³⁵ "Thousand" is omitted in the *Zinatu-l majalis*, which gives us the same anecdote.

taken altogether a different turn: he who had triumphed has been vanquished, and now we are all ready to obey your command. What orders may you be pleased to address to us?" The Khwaja replied, "Your first duty is to remove the chains from off my feet, and put them on those of Tuman." Upon this the soldiers seized Tuman, pulled him down with great ignominy, and put the chains on his feet. They placed the Khwaja on a horse, and Tuman, Khatib Lut, and his other slaves were seated on camels, and in this manner they took them to Ghaznin. God the most glorious and powerful thus punished Tuman for his wickedness. The moral of this story is to show the consequences of tale-bearing, and to teach that great and wealthy men should not encourage base characters, or take wicked men into their favour, and thus bring disgrace and shame upon themselves.

ANECDOTE OF SULTAN IBRAHIM

II. xxiv. 6.

One day when Sultan Razi Ibrahim (God's mercy on him!) was in Ghaznin, he saw a labourer carrying a heavy stone on his head to some building which was then in course of erection, and that he staggered under the load. The Sultan, observing his suffering, ordered him to put down the stone. The labourer obeyed his orders, and after that time the stone remained on that identical spot. One day, some of the royal attendants represented to the king that the stone was still lying in the plain, that it frightened the horses and prevented them passing on quietly, and that it would be well if the king gave the order to have it removed. The king said, I have once ordered it to be placed where it is, and there would be an incongruity in my now ordering it to be removed. So the stone remained lying in the plain of Ghaznin, and in order to maintain the

words of the Sultan, his sons also would not, any of them, suffer it to be taken away.³⁶

DEATH OF MALIK ARSLAN

I. v. 147.

It is narrated that after the demise of Sultan Mas'ud bin Ibrahim, Malik Arslan, his son, mounted the throne, and determined to overthrow Sultan Bahram Shah. This prince fled from his brother, accompanied by only one of his attendants, and they took the precaution of having their horses shod backwards. He proceeded first to Sistan, from thence to Kirman, and at last he threw himself on the protection of Sultan Sanjar, who, espousing his cause, marched to Ghaznin against Malik Arslan, and defeated him there, on Wednesday, the fourteenth of Shawwal, A.H. 511 (Feb. 1118, A.D.). Sultan Sanjar appointed Sultan Bahram Shah his deputy in Ghaznin and Hindustan, and having seated him on the throne, he himself went to Balkh. When Sultan Sanjar had returned, Malik Arslan again advanced to recover his kingdom, and Bahram Shah retired towards Balkh, from whence Sultan Sanjar sent out a force to meet him. He thereupon returned to Ghaznin. Malik Arslan fled before him, and being pursued, was captured in the Shakran³⁷ hills, and despatched to the next world. The army then returned to Balkh.

MUHAMMAD SAM'S VICTORY OVER KOLA (PITHAURA)³⁸

(I. xiii. 43.)

It is related that when the martyr Mu'izzu-d dunya

³⁶ (This story is told in the *Akhlak-i Muhsini*, but is there attributed to Mahmud.)

³⁷ These are the hills spoken of in the accounts of Sultan Jalalu-d din's retreat to Hindustan. (The name is written "Safian" in Prinsep's MS.)

³⁸ (The *Taju-l Ma-asir* and *Tabakat-i Nasiri*

wau-d din Muhammad Sain (May God illumine his tomb¹) was about to fight the second time against Kola. between Hanjar³⁹ and Tabar-hindh,⁴⁰ it became known to him that (the enemy) kept their elephants drawn up in a separate array when preparing for action. The horses were afraid of them, and this was an element of disaster. When the opposing forces approached each other and the camp fires were visible on either side, the Sultan gave directions that every man should collect plenty of wood before his tent. At night he directed a party of soldiers to remain in the camp, and to keep fires burning all the night, so that the enemy might suppose it to be their camping ground. The Sultan then marched off in another direction with the main body of his army. The infidels saw the fires and felt assured of their adversaries being there encamped. The Sultan marched all night and got in the rear of Kola. At dawn he made his onslaught upon the camp followers⁴¹ and killed many men. When the rear pressed back on the main army Kola sought to retreat, but he could not get his forces in order, nor the elephants under control. The battle became general, the enemy was signally defeated, and Kola was taken prisoner. The Musulmans obtained a complete victory and the Sultan returned triumphant.

use the same term "Kola." The word signifies "bastard" in Persian, and Firishla so explains it.—Briggs. Firishla I. 179).

³⁹ (The orthography is doubtful. In two MS. it is *hajar Thomas' MS. has hajiz*).

⁴⁰ *Thomas' MS. gives the name so distinctly. The other two MSS. are defective, and simply give tabarhindeh. See P. 200 note on the name in the Tabakat-i Nasiri.*

⁴¹ (Buna, baggage.)

EQUITY OF MUHAMMAD SAM

(I. vi. 37.)

When the heroic Sultan Muhammad Sam, the honour of the world and of religion, who by his sword had darkened the prosperity of the infidels, marched upon Nahrwala, he sustained a defeat, and returned without having effected his object. He then made preparations to retrieve his disasters and avenge his loss of fame and treasure. One of his well-wishers represented to him that in Nahrwala there resided a certain person, by name Wasa Abhir,⁴² who was one of the head men of the city. This man always sent consignments of his merchandize to his agents for sale, and at that time there was property belonging to him in Ghaznin, to the amount of ten lacs of rupees. It was suggested to the king, that were he to confiscate this money to his own use, he might by means of it be enabled to raise an army and replenish the exhausted treasury. The king wrote his answer on the back of the petition, to the effect that, if Nahrwala falls into my hands, then the appropriation of Wasa Abhir's wealth would be lawful, but to seize his property in Ghaznin would be contrary to the dictates of justice. So he did not touch the money; and his virtue met its reward, for it happened that, two years afterwards, the most generous king, the staff of the world and supporter of religion (may the Almighty be merciful to him and pardon him!), marched at the head of his army from Dehli, and conquered the territory, and punished the people for their previous misconduct. So the whole world received proofs that the injury which the cause had once received was but as a black spot on the face of The Faith to guard it from the effects of an evil eye.

⁴²(*"Rusa Aima"* in one MS., *"Asad Abhir,"* in another.)

PREFACE.—DEATH OF NASIRU-D DIN KUBACHA

In the beginning of Rabi'u-l awwal, 625 H. (Jan. 1228), the king of kings, Shamsu-d dunya wau-d din sent an army to repress the inroads of Nasiru-d din Kubacha. Unable to oppose this force, Nasiru-d din sent his forces in boats to the fort of Bhakkar. The royal forces reached Bhakkar on the 10th, and under the directions of Nizamu-l Mulk, made preparations for assaulting the fort. The attack was made on the 1st Jumada-l awwal, and was so successful that Nasiru-d din was driven from the fortifications (*hisar*) and compelled to take refuge in the inner fort (*kil'ah*) without the assailants losing a single man. A proclamation of amnesty to all Muslims was then issued, which was joyfully accepted. Nasiru-d din, with his few remaining adherents offered to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to send away his sons and his treasure, but was told that he must hasten to make an unconditional surrender. He had no faith in his conqueror, and preferred death to submission; so on the night of Thursday, the 19th Jumada-l Akhir he went to the bank of the river and cast himself into the water. The good fortune of Nizamu-l Mulk thus gained a complete victory.

A RARE ANIMAL.

IV. xxiii. 4.

Abu Rihan⁴³ mentions in his writings that within the

⁴³ (Sir H. Elliot omitted this passage from the version given by Rashidu-d din (Vol. i. p. 61). Reinaud's translation says the animal is to be found in the Konkan (Fragments, p. 109), and Rashidu-d din confirms this (Lucknow MS.). The page is introduced in speaking of the Konkan, so that there can be little doubt of the Konkan being there intended. In the passage before us, the locality is distinctly given as "east of the Ganges," and the name of it is no doubt Oudh, though Prinsep's

boundaries of Hindustan, to the east of the Ganges, in the forests of Oudh, there exists an animal called Sharu. It is larger than a rhinoceros,⁴⁴ and has two long horns and a small trunk. On the back it has four protuberances resembling four feet. It is so powerful that it will attack an elephant and tear him asunder. No animal has strength enough to contend against it, nor does man venture to hunt it, in fact nothing has power over it except death. Besides natural death, one cause of its destruction is that it often takes up an animal on its horns and tosses it in the air. The flesh adhering to the horns creates worms, which falling on its back, eat into the flesh till it becomes very sore; they then attack its stomach and destroy it. Or, if there be a high mountain near, when it thunders, it will rush as if to attack (some unseen foe) and falling from the mountain destroy itself. People go out to pick up its horns. Its specific peculiarities (*khassiyat*) are not known.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE RUKH

IV. xxiii. 5.

This animal resembles a camel. It has two protuberances on the back and it generally has teeth, the limbs and organs of the body are venomous, and no other animal can escape it. Its spittle, dung, etc., are all deadly poison. Whatever meets its eye becomes its prey, for it runs as swift as the wind, and overtakes all creatures. It kills every animal that it may encounter. If anyone takes refuge from it in the top of a high tree which it cannot get up, it stands at the foot, and curling its tail into a sort of ladle, it tosses its water up—

MS. gives only "ou." Konkan and Ganges (Gang) present only a difference of one letter in the original characters.)

⁴⁴ (The word in the text may be read *karg*, "rhinoceros," or *garg*, "wolf.")

this in a very few moments brings its victim down. If any one to avoid it gets into a well, it will stand at the brink and cast its dung and urine down, and if one drop of this falls upon a man he will die.

TAJU-L MA-ASIR

OF

HASAN NIZAMI

This celebrated work is devoted chiefly to the history of Kutbu-d din Aibak, but it also contains portions of the history of his predecessor Muhammad Ghazi, and his successor, Shamsu-d din Altamsh, but without any notice of Aram, the son and immediate successor of Kutbu-d din. The name of *Taju-l Ma-asir* is nowhere given to the work by the author himself, but it has never been known by any other name from the earliest period. It means "The Crown of Exploits." Titles similar to this are common in Asiatic literature, the most celebrated being the *Taju-l Tawarikh* of the Turkish historian Sa'du-d din Muhammad, better known as Khwaja Effendi, "the Prince of Ottoman Historians."⁴⁵ Considering that the historical portion of this work is devoted exclusively to India, it enjoys a wide reputation throughout the Eastern Muhammadan world; which is ascribable less to the subject of the history than to the peculiar mode of its treatment. This has already been brought to the knowledge of European scholars by a very good account which has been given of the work by Hammer, in his life of Kutbu-d din Aibak, contained in the *Gemaldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*

⁴⁵A. L. David's *Grammer of the Turkish Language*, p. 1, where there is a long extract given from the work. More may be found respecting the author and the work in the *Biographie Univ.* Vol. xxxix. p. 399; the *Penny Cyclopædia*, Vol. xx., p. 292, and the *Geschichte d. Ottom.* Other works with the title of "Taj" are noticed, but with some omissions, by Haji Khalfa; *Lexicon Biblio.* Vol. ii. pp. 91-4.

grosser Moslemischer Herrscher, (Vol. iv. pp. 172-182). He remarks that Kutbu-d din would probably have been enrolled among other conquerors of whom history is silent, had not Hasan Nizami of Lahore, the writer of the *Taju-l Ma-asir*, entered into competition with Sabi the historian of Kabas, and 'Utbi the historian of Subuktigin and Mahmud. This is paying too great a compliment to the historical value of the work, for the simple style of of the *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, a work nearly contemporaneous, was much better adapted to rescue from oblivion the exploits of Kutbu-d din, who receives his due share of notice in that history.

The *Taju-l Ma-asir* is in fact exceedingly poor in historical details, though the period of which it treats is one of the most interesting in the history of Asia,—that of the first permanent establishment of the Muhammadan power in India. It contains, according to Hammer's enumeration, twelve thousand lines, of which no less than seven thousand consist of verse, both Arabic and Persian. It is swelled out to this unnecessary magnitude by the introduction of tedious and meaningless descriptions and digressions, which amount to not less than an hundred in the first half of the work. M. Hammer considers that there are fewer in the second, as the descriptive faculty seems to have been exhausted; but this apparent barrenness is occasioned more by the omission of the marginal notes indicating their recurrence, than by any exhaustion of the author's power, which flows on to the end in an even strain of eloquence, which is perfectly marvellous for its abundance, continuity and fantasticness. It is produced apparently with but little effort, leaving us to regret that the author should have admitted into an historical work so much rhapsodical and tropological stuff, which is of little use except to show his powers of fancy and invention. It is, however, this which constitutes its value in the estimation of oriental writers, who to this day are fond of attempt-

ing imitations, without any of the richly exuberant vein of Hasan Nizami.

Towards the close, indeed, there is a new variety of illustration, which makes it appear that the descriptions are fewer. But though fewer, they are much longer, for here the author occasionally introduces a subordinate series of descriptions, or *sifats*, within one leading subject. For instance, in the second half we have images derived from mirrors, pens, and chess, each running on for many pages, but all containing several minor descriptions referrible, as it were, to those chief subjects. Here also we are introduced to new conceits, where whole sentences and pages are made to consist of nothing but sibilants and labials. Even the death of Muhammad Ghazi is not sufficient to repress the gaiety of his imagination, for we are told that, "*one of two men out of the three or four conspirators, inflicted five or six wounds upon the lord of the seven climes, and his spirit flew above the eight paradises and the nine heavens, and joined those of the ten Evangelists.*"

Some of the passages where these descriptions are introduced are noticed in the following abstract, showing that they are derived from anything in heaven or earth, as the prolific fancy of the author may suggest. The *Gemaldesaal* has given the following classified distribution of them:—Of nature, its elements and phenomena.—fire, water, heat, cold, lighting, thunder, rain, snow, the sea, the desert, fields, woods, meadows, and gardens. Of seasons,—day, morning, evening, night, spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Of flowers,—the rose, the tulip, the basilicon, the jasmin, the lily, the narcissus, the violet, the lotus, the hyacinth, the anemone. Of fruits,—the pomegranate, the apple, the orange, the citron. Of beasts,—the lion, the serpent, the elephant, the horse, the camel, the lynx, the falcon, the peacock, the dog. Of war and its appurtenances,—the contending armies, arrows, bows,

clubs, lances, spears, daggers, and spoils. Of musical instruments,—kettle-drums, viols, tymbals, and barbytons. Of beautiful women,—cheeks, hair, curls, eyes, and moles. Of festivals and their appurtenances,—cup-bearers, singers, bowls, wines, and fire-pans; and lastly, pens, physicians, and learned men. Most of these have been given in the following abstract in the order in which they occur, and they by no means include the whole series introduced by the author.

The reader may satisfy himself of the nature of these descriptions by reading the commencement of one devoted to the sword, which he will find in the abstract under "The Conquest of Gwalior." If he should be desirous of seeing the conclusion of it, he will find it in the *Gemaldesaal*, pp. 178, 179.

There is but little related of the author by biographers, and all we know of him is to be ascertained only from his own account in the preface of the *Taju-l-Ma-asir*. He gives his own name as Hasan Nizami simply. Mirkhond in his preface, and Haji Khalfa (No. 2051), call him Sadru-d din Muhammad bin Hasan Nizami, and so he is styled by Abu-l Fazl, in an untranslated chapter of the *Ayin-i Akbari*. Hammer calls him Hasan Nizami of Lahore, but that was neither his birth-place nor chief residence.

Hasan Nizami was born at Naishapur, and he tells us that he never dreamt of travelling abroad, until the troubles of his native country of Khurasan induced him to seek a residence elsewhere. Another cause was that no regard was paid to learning, in consequence of these distractions, and that ignorant and envious men were seeking to injure him, for it is a matter of common observation that "the wise are rarely regarded in their own country."⁴⁶

⁴⁶*This resembles the Hindi proverb, "Apne ganw ka jogi, an ganw ka sidh." "The jogi of his own village is*

He for a long time entertained the thought of leaving his country before he could put it into execution, and at last, when the disorders of which he complains had reached their climax, and he himself was reduced to the greatest distress, "in the very prime of manhood, and before his hair began to turn gray," he left his native city, notwithstanding the continued remonstrances of his friends, to which he had yielded for some time. He set out for Ghazni, at the suggestion of Shaikh Muhammad Kafi, and on his arrival at that capital, after being delayed by a severe attack of fever on the road, he made several agreeable acquaintances amongst the learned, and after a short time departed in company with some of his new friends for Dehli, "the country of mercy and the altar of wealth.—The reins of choice were given to his horse, the traverser of deserts and the passer of hills.—The heat of the fiery blast opened the very gates of hell, and the wild beasts of the mountain and deserts sought for the shade of trees.—The boughs of the jungle were so closely interlaced, that the wind in the midst of them was confined like a bird in a cage.—A tiger was seen in every forest.—In every ravine and plain poisonous serpents were met with.—It came into his thoughts, will the boat of his life ever reach the shore of safety?—The crow-like Hindus had intercepted the roads, and in the rapidity of their movements exceeded the wild ass and the deer, you might say they were demons in human-form, and covered with blackness."

Having escaped from all these dangers, he arrived at Dehli, and paid his respects to the Chief Judge, Sharfu-l Mulk, and was received with great kindness. After he had resided for some time in this city, his

a deity in another," and our Saviour when he says, "A prophet is not without honour save in his own country, and in his own house," is merely repeating a common Asiatic proverb.

friends recommended him to write something in the shape of contemporary history, "for the purpose of ascertaining the powers of his style;" and as the king had about that time issued orders that an account of his victories should be recorded, Hasan Nizami determined to engage himself upon that particular subject.

With regard to the dedication of his work, Hammer informs us (*Gemald.*, iv., 174), that "this history of Kutbu-d din Aibak, was composed by Nizami, his contemporary, as early as twelve years after his death, for Muhammad bin Sam bin Husain, the ruler of Lahore, who styled himself 'Nasir-i Amiru-l Muminin, helper of the prince of the believers.' Nizami of Lahore, a slave of Muhammad bin Sam, wrote this history for his master, who being an admirer of the great achievements of Aibak, took them for the model and rule of his reign."

There is evidently a great misapprehension here respecting Muhammad bin Sam, who is no other than the famous Muhammad Ghori, the master of Kutbu-d din Aibak. Muhammad Ghori died before Kutbu-d din reigned, and he could not therefore have taken his own slave for his great exemplar. What the author really says regarding this potentate is this: After dwelling on the advantage and necessity of holy wars, without which the fold of Muhammad's flock could never be filled, he says that such a hero as these obligations of religion require has been found. "during the reign of the lord of the world Mu'izzu-d dunya wau-d din, the Sultan of Sultans, Abu-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sam bin Husain, in the person of the puissant Sultan, the lord of the fortunate conjunction of the planets, the pole of the world and religion, the pillar of Islam and Musulmans, the asylum of princes and sultans, the destroyer of infidels and plural-worshippers, etc., the Khusru of Hindustan, Abu-l haris Aibak the Sultan," and that "Almighty God had selected him from amongst the kings and emperors of the time," for he had employed

himself in extirpating the enemies of religion and the state, and had deluged the land of Hind with the blood of their hearts, so that to the very day of resurrection travellers would have to pass over pools of gore in boats,—had taken every fort and stronghold which he attacked, and ground its foundations and pillars to powder under the feet of fierce and gigantic elephants,—had made the heads of crowned Rais crown the top of impaling posts,—had sent the whole world of idolatry to the fire of hell, by the well-watered blade of his Hindi sword,—had founded mosques and colleges in the places of images and idols,—and had made the names of Nau-shirwan, Rustam, and Hatim Tai to be forgotten." Such was the hero to the record of whose achievements the work was principally dedicated.

The *Tajū-l Ma-asir* was commenced in the year 602 H. (1205 A.D.), in the eighth month of which (Sha'ban) Muhammad Ghorī died, and it is evident that it was begun before his death, because the preface which, however unusual, was really composed at the beginning, and not the conclusion of the work, contains a prayer for the prolongation of his life and the prosperity of his kingdom.

The history opens with the transactions of the year 587 H. (1191 A.D.), when Muhammad Ghorī undertook his expedition to India to retrieve the dreadful disaster he had a short time before experienced on the field of Narain, near Thanesar, to which, however the courtly historian makes no allusion. The copies ordinarily to be met with carry the history down to the year 614 H. (1217 A.D.), or seven years after the death of Kutbu-d din, and at the close of that portion the author indulges in a panegyric on his own work, in which he invites the reigning monarch Shamsu-d din, the second Alexander, to compare his work with those of other celebrated historians, and he will see that it is "superior to anything written by ancients or moderns," and concludes by say-

ing, that if his life is spared, he will continue the work in the same manner. That he did so continue it is evident from a very valuable copy in the possession of Nawwab Ziau-d din of Dehli, written as early as the year 779 H. (1377-8 A.D.) in the *Naskh* character styled *Hij-jazi*. In this, though itself imperfect at the end, we have the history carried down even twelve years later, or to 626 H (1228-9. A.D.), and it is not improbable that it might have been prolonged to the close of Shamsu-d din's reign, or seven years later than this period. From the general meagreness of historical details, it cannot be said that this deficient portion is worth much enquiry.

Beyond the praise which the author bestows upon his heroes, there is nothing to indicate that he was contemporary with the events which he describes, and the absence of all particulars, as well as a certain confusion and indistinctness about some of the dates, show that he was no active participator in any of his patrons' campaigns. It is singularly strange that he says nothing of the transactions of Kutbu-d din's actual reign, for the same short chapter records his accession and his death.

The following abstract contains all that is of the remotest historical interest in the work, no name or event being omitted. The passages between inverted commas imply that the words of the original have been translated, but even in these many intermediate words, such as synonyms and reduplications of the same expression, have been omitted, and it has been considered sufficient to group together words and phrases, which, though actually to be found in the *Taju-l Ma-asir* do not in the translation preserve the exact order of the original. The passages in the first chapter, which are printed in italics indicate that they are written in Arabic, and nearly the same proportion of Arabic occurs throughout the work, showing that, without a knowledge of that language, it would be impossible to understand thoroughly the *Taju-l Ma-asir*.

The *Taju-l Ma-asir* is rare in Europe. Hammer⁴⁷ says that the only copy to be found is in the royal library of Vienna, but there is one also in the British Museum. In India it is by no means uncommon, much less so than the difficulty of understanding the work would lead one to suppose. The copy in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is a very clean one, but abounds with errors, and many chapters are recopied towards the close. There is a beautiful copy in the Dehli College, and there is one of surpassing excellence belonging to Maulavi Sadru-d din, the Sadru-s sudur of Dehli, written in the *Nashk* character, apparently about three hundred years ago, by Muhammad bin Muhammad, who professes to have copied it from the author's autograph. The transcriber imitates successfully the style of the work in a chapter at the end, devoted to its praise.

There are also two good copies of the *Taju-l Ma-asir* in the library of Nawwab Siraju-l mulk, but so little known and appreciated as to be lettered, one the *Tarikh-i Mahmud Ghaznivi*, the other *Jahan-kusha*; but all must yield the palm to Nawwab Ziaud-din's copy noticed above, on account of its containing the additional matter, but it must be confessed that the character is not easy to read, and the manuscript is unfortunately damaged by water and worms.

The copy noticed above, which shows the verses in separate lines detached from the prose, contains 570 pages of twenty lines each; the additional matter being comprised in thirty pages.

(The following Abstract was prepared entirely by Sir H. Elliot himself).

ABSTRACT

Invasion of Hindustan

"In the year 587 H (1191 A.D.), the Lord of the World,

⁴⁷ *Gemaldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Vol. iv p. 173.

the Sultan of Sultans, Mu'izzu-d dunya wau-d din (Muhammad Ghorî) in a happy moment, and under a fortunate star, departed from Ghazna, may God protect it from calamities!

Had he not imparted *movement* to his hands and
reins,

The fect of his *stirrups* would have *stopped* the air
in its course.

If his horse be so wearied that it cannot carry him,
His courage would urge him against his enemies,

Having equipped and set in order the army of
Islam, and unfurled the standards of victory and the
flags or power, trusting in the aid of the Almighty, he
proceeded towards Hindustan.

His standards proclaim victory,

Indeed, they are almost prepared to write the book
of victory,

His ensigns and black umbrella are full of
adornment,

How beautiful on the face of time are the
curls and freckles of the state!

When the tent of eternal prosperity, encompassed by
splendour, arrived near Lohur, and when the air of that
country became perfumed and crescented by the dust of
the armies and the shoes of the horses, the great Sadr
Kiwamu-l mulk Ruhu-d din Hamza, who was among
the chiefs of the country and the renowned of the
state, and had obtained distinction by the customs of
embassage and the proprieties of missions, and his posi-
tion in the service of the sublime Court (may God sur-
round it with increased glory)! had met with approval,
and in the beauty of his moral character and the excel-
lence of his endowments, the above mentioned person,
in whose merits all concurred, and from the flame of
whose wisdom and the light of whose penetration abund-
ant delight and perfect good fortune arose.

Indeed all kinds of excellences united in his
person,
And he was singularly endowed in the practice
of all virtues,
He was such a Sadr that the substance of great-
ness found in him a soul,
He was a sea in which the eyes of meaning
found vision.

Such was the man who was sent on an *embassy* to Ajmir, in order that the Rai (Pithaura) of that *country* might see the right way without the *intervention* of the sword, and that he might incline from *the track of opposition into the path of propriety*, leaving his airy follies for the *institute* of the knowledge of God, and acknowledging the *expediency* of uttering the words of *martyrdom* and repeating the *precepts* of the law, and might abstain from *infidelity and darkness*, which entails the loss of this world and that to come, and might place in his ear the ring of slavery to the sublime Court, (may God exalt it!) which is *the centre of justice and mercy*, and the *pivot* of the Sultans of the world, and by these means and modes might cleanse the fords of a good life from the sins of impurity.

When the ambassador arrived in the *country* of Ajmir, and in accordance with his orders brought forward the conditions of his mission, and in uttering his speech presented the usual inducements of fixing the mind, and adorned the selection of his words with the excellence of their significations, and strung well the pearls of exhortations and admonitions upon the thread of style.

They were such words that if the world were to
hear them,
On account of their beauty the people would
incline to become ears.
Your words are right and your meaning correct,

Your *opinion* is the soul and your *greatness* the
body.

Your words are the product of the bough of
rhetoric,

And your *clemency* is the fruit of the seed of
eloquence.

In no respect did the words of threats, or promises become established in the heart of that man of dark understanding, nor did advantages or menaces addressed to the heart (and indeed he who menaces offers the alternative of advantages) have place in the hearing of that obstinate, for from his large army and grandeur the desire of something like the conquest of the world had raised a phantom in his imagination; and he remained neglectful of the subtle principle that armies do not profit when the time has passed, and he had palced on the shelf of forgetfulness the good maxim that "when fate comes the field of opportunity is narrowed," and had not read the divine order that "it is a duty imposed on me to give aid to the faithful:" and in the sight of his idolatry the commands of the law were the dreams of oppression, and the light of instruction showed the darkness of his perdition, and since in the sublime understanding of the sovereign which derived aid and support from the world of holiness, and the light of his wisdom exceeds and surmounts that splendour of the sun and moon.

If his light were to contend with the dawn,
Even his night would exceed the brilliancy of
the day.

Gold would not be produced from earth by the
power of the sun,

Unless his wisdom had power over the sun.

When these circumstances were represented, and the intelligence of the declarations of that God-forsaken reached the blessed hearing, which was filled with gladness,

the signs of disturbance overspread his auspicious countenance.

CONQUEST OF AJMIR

He accordingly prepared for an expedition against the Rai, and mounted his steed, of which there is a poetical description. "The victorious army on the right and on the left departed towards Ajmir." "When the Kola (natural son) of the Rai of Ajmir, the vaunts of whose courage had reached the ears of far and near, heard of the approach of the auspicious standards and the victorious armies, he advanced for the purpose of fighting, and having adjusted the robe of slaughter and the arms of battle, marched on over hills and deserts with a well-equipped army, the number of which cannot be conceived in the picture-gallery of the imagination."

"When the crow-faced Hindus began to sound their white shells⁴⁸ on the backs of the elephants, you would have said that a river of pitch was flowing impetuously down the face of a mountain of blue."

Description and attributes of elephants, spears, and arrows.—The army of Islam was completely victorious, and "an hundred thousand grovelling Hindus swiftly departed to the fire of hell." The Rai of Ajmir was taken prisoner during the action, but his life was spared. After this great victory, the army of Islam marched forward to Ajmir, where it arrived at a fortunate moment and under an auspicious bird, and obtained so

⁴⁸*Sapid muhra in the original, to which, as no meaning is attached in the dictionaries, I have thought myself warranted in translating thus, but a few pages after this (the fourth instance of their being used), these words cannot bear this meaning, because the instruments in that case were sounded by the Muhammadans, to whom shells are an abomination. In that passage I have called this instrument a kettle-drum, as it resembles a shell in shape.*

much booty and wealth, that you might have said that the secret depositories of the seas and hills had been revealed."

Poetical description of fountains, gardens, birds, and flowers.—While the Sultan remained at Ajmir, "he destroyed the pillars and foundations of the idol temples, and built in their stead mosques and colleges, and the precepts of Islam, and the customs of the law were divulged and established." The Rai of Ajmir, who had managed to obtain his release, or at least, immunity from punishment, and whose "ancient hatred against the Musulmans was deeply rooted and concealed in the bottom of his heart." appears to have been detected in some intrigue, which is only very obscurely indicated, so that orders were issued for his death, and "the diamond-like sword severed the head of that abandoned wretch from his body."

THE GOVERNMENT OF AJMIR CONFERRD ON THE SON OF RAI PITHAURA.¹⁹

"The son of Rai Pithaura, in whose qualities and habits the proof of courage and the indexes of wisdom were apparent, and who, both abroad and at home, exhibited familiarity with rectitude, and prognostications of goodness, was appointed to the government of Ajmir.

* * * *

THE CONQUEST OF DEHLI

After settling the affairs of Ajmir, the conqueror marched "towards Dehli (may God preserve its prosperity and

¹⁹ *This is the heading in the original, but in the preceding chapter the name of the Rai is not given. In this it is spelt Pitaura. There is mention of the son (pisar) not natural son (kola) as in the preceding chapter.*

perpetuate its splendour!) which is among the chief (mother) cities of Hind." When he arrived at Dehli, he saw "a fortress which in height and strength had not its equal nor second throughout the length and breadth of the seven climes." The army encamped around the fort. "A torrent of blood flowed on the field of battle, and it became evident to the chiefs that if they did not seek for safety from the sword of the king of the earth, and if they should deliver into the hands of Satan the time of option and the reins of good counsel, the condition of Dehli would be like that of Ajmir; so from the dread of kingly punishment, the Rai and mukaddams of that country placed their heads upon the line of slavery, and their feet within the circle of obedience, and made firm the conditions of tribute (*maiguzari*) and the usages of service."

The Sultan then returned "towards the capital of Ghazna (may God preserve it in prosperity!)" but "the army remained encamped within the boundary of Dehli, at the *mauza* of Indarpat (Indraprastha)."

THE GOVERNMENT OF KOHRAM AND SAMANA

The Government of the fort of Kohram and of Samana were made over by the Sultan to "Kutbu-d din, on whose fortunate forehead the light of world-conquest shone conspicuous," "and who by his lofty courage and pure faith without doubt was worthy of the kingdom and suitable for the throne of sovereignty; and by the aid of his sword of Yemen and dagger of India became established in independent power over the countries of Hind and Sind." "He purged by his sword the land of Hind from the filth of infidelity and vice, and freed the whole of that country from the thorn of God-plurality, and the impurity of idol-worship, and by his royal vigour and intrepidity, left not one temple standing." "He extinguished the flame of discord by the splendour

of the light of justice, and the smoke of the darkness of oppression vanished from the face of the earth."

The chiefs of the country around Kohram came to pay their respects and acknowledge fealty, and he was so just and generous "that the name of Naushirwan and the tale of Hatim Tai were in course of oblivion."

An assembly is commenced, a feast is held, and the sumptuous preparations described.—The merits of cup-bearers, wine, goblets, companions, flowers, hunting, horses, falcons, panthers, dogs, and huntsmen are poetically eulogized.

THE FLIGHT OF JATWAN AND HIS⁵⁰ DEATH IN BATTLE

"When the honoured month of Ramazan, 588 H., the season of mercy and pardon, arrived, fresh intelligence was received at the auspicious Court, that the accursed Jatwan, having admitted the pride of Satan into his brain, and placed the cup of chieftainship and obstinacy upon his head, had raised his hand in fight against Nusratu-d din, the Commander, under the fort of Hansi, with an army animated by one spirit."

'Digressions. upon spears, the heat of the season, night, the new moon, morning, and the sun.—Kutbu-d din mounted his horse, and "marched during one night twelve parasangs." "The accursed Jatwan, when he heard the news of the arrival of the victorious armies, felt himself compelled to depart from under the fort," and fled. "The soldiers of Islam came up to the army of Hind on the borders of Bagar; and although Jatwan saw there was no chance of successful opposition in battle, yet as he saw destruction impending on him from the throat of the dragon, and the road for flight was

⁵⁰ *The singular prevails throughout. He was probably a mere leader of the Jat tribe, which still maintains its position in the neighbourhood of this scene of action.*

blocked up, and the standards of the State and royal victory were unfurled, yielding to the necessity of the case, and not at his own option," he prepared for fight, and "the noise of the hautbois and shells confounded the world, the thunder of the drums ascended to heaven, and the blast of the brazen clarions resembled the sounding trump (of resurrection)."

The armies attacked each other "like two hills of steel, and the field of battle became tulip-dyed with the blood of the warriors."—Poetical digression on swords, daggers, spears, and maces,—The Hindus were completely defeated, and their leader slain. "Jatwan, who was the essence of vice and turbulence, and the rod of infidelity and perverseness, the friend of grief, and the companion of shame, had his standards of God-plurality and ensigns of perdition lowered by the hand of power:" "and the dust of the field of battle was mingled with the blood of that God-abandoned wretch, and the whole country was washed from the filth of his idolatry."—Praise of Kutbu-d din's justice, encouragement of the learned, and his civil administration. Mention of the booty taken by the Musulmans.—He marched to Hansi, "and encamped there a few days, in order to repair the fort, and after that returned towards Kohram, which acquired fresh beauty from his blessed feet."

"The intelligence of this happy victory and these important incidents was divulged over the face of the world, and the noise of it spread to the countries of Hind and Sind, far and near, and proclamations announcing the victory of the chiefs of the State, and the defeat of the enemies of the kingdom were written and despatched to the capital of Ghazna, (may the Almighty preserve it in wealth and prosperity!)" and in them was added "that the foundation of all this success was the lofty courage and pure faith of his Majesty."

THE CAPTURE OF MIRAT

"When the chief luminary threw its shade in the sign of

Libra, and temperate breezes began to blow, after putting to flight the army of heat," Kutbu-d din marched from Kohram, "and when he arrived at Mirat—which is one of the celebrated forts of the country of Hind, for the strength of its foundations and superstructure, and its ditch, which was as broad as the ocean and fathomless—an army joined him, sent by the dependent chiefs of the country." The fort was captured, and a Kotwal appointed to take up his station in the fort, and all the idol temples were converted into mosques.

CAPTURE OF DEHLI

He then marched and encamped under the fort of Dehli, which was also captured, "and the standards of the State were also carried into the neighbouring tracts. The conqueror entered the city of Dehli, which is the source of wealth and the foundation of blessedness." The city and its vicinity was freed from idols and idol-worship, and in the sanctuaries of the images of the Gods, mosques were raised by the worshippers of one God."

THE REBELLION OF HIRAJ, BROTHER OF THE RAI OF AJMIR

After Kutbu-d din had settled affairs in this quarter, the chief Sadr, Kiwan-ul mulk Ruhu-d din Hamza, sent him intelligence from Rantanbor, that Hiraj,⁵¹ the brother of the Rai of Ajmir, had gone into rebellion, and "had turned his face towards the siege of the fort of Rantanbor," and that the son of Pitaura, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime Court, was in a state of extreme danger. On receiving this intelligence, Kutbu-d din appointed the

⁵¹ *Firishta* calls him Hemraj, which is a common Indian name. "Hiraj" is not; but it is plainly so written in all the copies. It is probably an abbreviation of the Sanskrit "Dhiraj," a potentate, which is still used on the seals of Hindu Rajas.

Amir Sabiku-l mulk Nasru-d din" to take charge of the affairs of State during his absence, "a man who in knowledge of the rules and customs of government was superior to his contemporaries, and in resolution and courage was celebrated throughout Hind, far and near," and himself departed for Rantambor, "passing over hill and desert like a wild ass or an antelope."

"When Hiraj heard of the arrival of the auspicious standards, knowing he could not contend with the army of Islam, and impelled by necessity, he placed the hands of weakness in the skirts of flight, and for fear of the blade of the scimeter fled like the wind with his resurrectionless army." The conqueror then engaged himself in administering "the ways of justice, and received both high and low under the shadow of this benignity," and the people were happy. "At this time the son of Rai Pitaura was favoured with a robe of honour and other kindnesses; and in return for this friendship, he sent abundant treasure for the service of the State, together with three golden melons, which with extreme ingenuity had been cast in moulds like the full moon."

"About this time they wrote to the heavenly throne, that the Rai who had fled from Dehli had raised an army of idolatrous, turbulent, and rebellious tribes, the vapour of pride and conquest having entered his thoughtless brain." Kutbu-d din pursued him, "and when the wretch was taken, his head was severed from his body and sent to Dehli, which had been his residence and capital." Kutbu-d din then himself returned to Dehli, and sent "written accounts of his capture of forts and strongholds, and his victories and holy wars" to Ghazna, to which capital he was invited to receive thanks in person from Mu'izzu-d din Sam Ghori. The invitation arrived when the sun was in Cancer, and the heat was so great as to prevent travelling, but he set out on his journey at the commencement of the rainy season.

KUTBU-D DIN PROCEEDS TO GHAZNA

"When the fortunate stirrups reached the capital of Ghazna (may God shed splendour on it!), he enjoyed the happiness of kissing hands, and received other marks of special favour before the great throne, and in the degree of his rank was raised above all the other chiefs of the world." A festival was held in celebration of his arrival, "and splendid jewels, and valuable clothes, and costly arms, and slaves of great price" were presented to the king.

Kutbu-d din was accommodated in the garden of the minister Ziau-l mulk.—Here follow poetical descriptions, of horses, ice, apples, citrons, oranges, cold, wind, and fire.—On the return of the hot season he was taken ill, and "removed from the residence of the minister to the palace of the sovereign, which is the seat of prosperity; but on account of his illness and want of strength, he could not rejoice in his heart with the festivities." On his recovery, he took his leave of the king, and received a patent conferring upon him the government (of Hindustan) "and every one of the principal officers of his army was rejoiced exceedingly, at receiving from his Majesty suitable presents and promotion of rank."

On his arrival at Karman⁵² from the great capital, Taju-d din Yalduz received him with great kindness and honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage, and a fete was held on the occasion.—Poetical descriptions follow, of stars, female beauty, cup-bearers, curls, cheeks, eyes, lips, mouths, stature, elegance, cups, wine, singers, guitars, barbats, trumpets, flutes, drums, on the morning, and the sun.

KUTBU-D DIN RETURNS TO DEHLI

When he arrived at Dehli, "which is the capital of the

⁵² *This Karman is in the Bangash country, between Kabul and Banu.*

kingdom, and the centre of God's aid and victory, the crown and throne of sovereignty received honour and adornment in his kingly person," "and the lords of the sword and pen hastened to pay their respects at the magnificent Court, and observed the usages of benediction and praise; while the city and its vicinity rejoiced and was decorated like the garden of Iran, and the gates and walls were adorned with the gold tissues of Chin and the brocades of Rum," "and triumphal arches were raised, beautiful to look at, the top of which a strong-winged bird could not surmount, and the glittering of the lightning of the swords and the splendour of the arms, which were suspended on all sides of them, inspired terror in the spirit of the beholder."

Rhapsody upon spring and birds.--Kutbu-d din built the Jami Masjid at Delhi, and "adorned it with the stones and gold obtained from the temples which had been demolished by elephants," and covered it with "inscriptions in Toghra, containing the divine commands."

KUTBU-D DIN ADVANCES TO KOL.

After staying sometime at Dehli, he marched in the year 590 H. (1194 A.D.), towards Kol and Benares, passing the Jun (Jumna) "which, from its exceeding purity, resembled a mirror." He took Kol, "which is one of the most celebrated fortresses of Hind." Those of the garrison "who were wise and acute were converted to Islam," but those who stood by their ancient faith were slain with the sword. "The nobles and chiefs of the State entered the fort, and carried off much treasure and countless plunder, including one thousand horses."

There intelligence was received of the march of Muhammad Ghorî from Ghazna; Kutbu-d din advanced to meet him, "and had the honour of kissing hands, which is the highest of glories, and the essence of miracles, and presented an elephant laden with white silver

and red gold," "and an hundred horses," "and sundry kinds of perfumes."

FIGHT WITH THE RAI OF BENARES AND CAPTURE OF ASNI

When the army was mustered, it was found to amount to "fifty thousand mounted men clad in armour and coats of mail," with which they advanced to fight against the Rai of Benares. The king ordered Kutbu-d din to proceed with the vanguard, consisting of one thousand cavalry, which fell upon "the army of the enemies of religion," and completely defeated it. On its return to the king, the officers were presented with robes of honour.

"The Rai of Benares, Jai Chaud, the chief of idolatry and perdition, advanced to oppose the royal troops with an army, countless as the particles of sand," "and the noise of the war-drum proclaimed to the ears of the worshippers of one God, aid comes from the Almighty, and the sound of the silver kettle-drum and the blast of the brazen trumpets resounded to heaven." Rhapsodical description of swords, spears, war-nooses, and archers. "The Rai of Benares, who prided himself on the number of his forces and war elephants," seated on a lofty howdah, received a deadly wound from an arrow, and "fell from his exalted seat to the earth." His head was carried on the point of a spear to the commander, and "his body was thrown to the dust of contempt." "The impurities of idolatry were purged by the water of the sword from that land, and the country of Hind was freed from vice and superstition."

"Immense booty was obtained, such as the eye of the beholder would be weary to look at, "including one (some copies say three) hundred elephants. The royal army then took possession "of the fort of Asni where the treasure of the Rai was deposited," and there much more precious spoil of all kinds rewarded the victors.

THE CAPTURE OF BENARES

from that place the royal army proceeded towards Benares, "which is the centre of the country of Hind," and here they destroyed nearly one thousand temples, and raised mosques on their foundations; and the knowledge of the law became promulgated, and the foundations of religion were established;" "and the face of the dinar and the diram was adorned with the name and blessed titles" of the king. The Rais and chiefs of Hind came forward to proffer their allegiance. "The government of that country was then bestowed on one of the most celebrated and exalted servants of the State," in order that he might distribute justice and repress idolatry.

When the king had settled all the affairs of the city and its vicinity, and "the record of his celebrated holy wars had been written in histories and circulated throughout the breadth of the fourth inhabited quarter of the world," he returned to Ghazna. "The standards of the Khusru, victorious in battle,⁵³ were planted for some days on the fort of Asni, and the chiefs and elders all around hastened to his service with various kinds of rarities and presents, and his noble Court became the scene where the princess and generals of the world came to bow their heads in reverence."

KUTBU-D DIN RETURNS TO KOL, AND ENTRUSTS ITS
GOVERNMENT TO HISAMU-D DIN 'ULBAK

There was a certain tribe in the neighbourhood of Kol, which "after the manner of fox playing with lions" had occasioned much trouble by their deceits and stratagems, therefore "by the edge of the sword they were despatched to the fire of hell." "Three bastions were raised as high as heaven with their heads, and their

⁵³*Kutbu-d din is usually styled throughout the work Khusrau parviz jang.*

carcases became the food of beasts of prey." "That tract was freed from idols and idol worship, and the foundations of infidelity were destroyed," and all those who were oppressed found protection under the shadow of royal clemency." "The keys of command and prohibition in the kasba of Kol were given to Maliku-l Umara Hisamuddin 'Ulbak, one of the chief pillars of the State." Here follows a didactic passage on what he was expected to do as a good governor.

HE RETURNS TO DEHLI

"When he was at complete leisure from the important concerns of Kol, and the affairs of that neighbourhood had been adjusted by the aid of the kindness of his heart, he turned his face towards the abodes of Delhi, the altar of the prosperity of the worlds," and when he arrived there he administered justice with so much impartiality, that among other results "the wolf and sheep drank water out of the same pond," "and the very mention of thieves and theft, which had before been current on the tongues of every one, fell to the dust."

THE SECOND VISIT TO AJMIR

"In the year 589 H. (1193 A.D.) they represented to the Court that Hiraj, the Rai of Ajmir, having raised the standards of perdition, and fanned the flame of idolatry in his heart, had opened the road of rebellion which he had hitherto closed by his deceit, and that from being exceedingly forsaken by God, he had delivered the reins of vanity into the hands of Satan, and having conceived the ladders of grandeur in his brain, had become proud." "Jihtar,⁵⁴ supported by an army, hastened to the borders of Dehli, and the people were suddenly caught in the darkness of his oppression and turbulence,

⁵⁴The name is written "Jihtar" in one MS. and "Jhitar" in another.

and the blood and property of the Musulmans fell into danger and destruction. When the mention of these circumstances was made to the blessed ear of the Khusru, in a moment of courage and royal determination, he employed himself in the punishment and extinction of the rebel." "He ordered that a portion of his victorious army should be set apart and equipped for his personal service, and that the rest of his army should be detached to the frontiers for the subjection of the accursed, and the destruction of the enemies of the state and religion." Kutbu-d din marched towards Ajmir in the middle of the hot season, "when the armour on the bodies of the valiant was inflamed by the heat of the sun, and the sword in the scabbard melted like wax," so that he was compelled to make night marches.

"When Jihtar heard of the approach of the victorious standards, the blackness of sorrow was fixed in his breast," and "knowing that he had not power to oppose them on the field of battle, he tightened the girths of the horse of flight, and sped like the wind out of the net of danger, and arrived at the shore of safety from the whirlpool of destruction, and from fear of the Khusru's sword drew his head within the four walls of that strong fortress of Ajmir, like a tortoise," where, in despair, he sacrificed himself in the flames of a pyre, after which the fort, "which was one of the most celebrated in Hind," was easily taken. "The country of Ajmir was restored to the honours of the ancient time and the dignities of its past days, for the circumstances of that province had altogether departed from their former course to which they now reverted," "religion was re-established," "the road of rebellion was closed," "infidelity was cut off, and the foundations of idol-worship were utterly destroyed." The roads were freed from the fear and danger of robbers, and the oppressed subjects were delivered from their distresses." "The

blessed lamp was visited by Rais and Ranas, and the earth was rubbed by the foreheads of the chiefs and celebrated men of Hind." After settling the affairs of Ajmir, Kutbu-d din returned to Dehli.

ARRIVAL OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD GHORI IN HINDUSTAN

When Kutbu-d din heard of the Sultan's march from Ghazna, he was much rejoiced, and advanced as far as Hansi to meet him, and "had the honour of kissing hands, and being distinguished above all the princes of the earth by the endless favours which were lavished on him." In the year 592, H. (1196 A.D.), they marched towards Thangar,⁵⁵ and the centre of idolatry and perdition became the abode of glory and splendour, and when the ropes of the royal tent were raised to heaven, the neighbourhood was tinged with an hundred hues by the varied coloured tents which were erected round that fortress, which resembled a hill of iron." "By the aid of God, and by the means of courage and the daily increasing prosperity of the king, that strong castle was taken, which had hitherto remained closed to all the sovereigns and princes of the world."

"Kuwar Pal,⁵⁶ the Rai of Thangar, who had prided himself on the numbers of his army and the strength of his castle, when he saw the power of the army opposed to him, fear invaded his breast, and he begged for safety for his life, and, like a slave, kissed the face of the earth with the very roots of his teeth." Upon which he was pardoned and admitted into favour, and, though with the loss of his kingdom, was content that his life was left to him." "The Musulmans, and *harbis*, and *zimmis* entered into conditions for paying revenue. The country was puri-

⁵⁵*The text of Firishta says "Thangar, which is now called Biana."*

⁵⁶*(Sir H. Elliot writes the name thus, but his MS. has only "Ku Pal")*

fied from the defilement of infidelity, and no opportunity remained for opposition and rebellion."

"The Government of Thangar was conferred on Bahau-d din Tughril," who was acquainted with matters of administration, and the customs of setting soldiers in array," and who received advice and instruction from his majesty how to comfort himself properly in his new appointment.

When the affairs of this tract was settled, the royal army marched, in the year 592 H., (1196 A.D.) "towards Galewar⁵⁷ and invested that fort, which is the pearl of the necklace of the castles of Hind, the summit of which the nimble-footed wind from below cannot reach, and on the bastion of which the rapid clouds have never cast their shade, and which the swift imagination has never surmounted, and at the height of which the celestial sphere is dazzled."—Description of swords and other military weapons.—"In compliance with the divine injunction of holy war, they drew out the blood-thirsty sword before the faces of the enemies of religion. That sword was coloured of cærulean blue, which from its blazing lustre resembled a hundred thousand Venuses and Pleiades, and it was a well-tempered horse-shoe of fire, which with its wound exhibited the peculiarity of lightning and thunder; and in the perfect weapon the extreme of sharpness lay hid, like (poison in) the fangs of a serpent; and (the water of the blade) looked like ants creeping on the surface of a diamond;" and so forth.

"Rai Solankh Pal who had raised the standard of infidelity, and perdition, and prided himself on his countless army and elephants, and who expanded the fist⁵⁸ of oppression from the hiding place of deceit, and who had lighted the flame of turbulence and rebellion,

⁵⁷Gwalior.

⁵⁸Hammer (Gemald. iv., 181) translates "den

and who had fixed the root of sedition and enmity firm in his heart, and in the courtyard of whose breast the shrub of tyranny and commotion had shot forth its branches, when he saw the power and majesty of the army of Islam," he became alarmed and dispirited, "Wherever he looked, he saw the road of flight blocked up." He therefore "sued for pardon, and placed the ring of servitude to his ear," and agreed to pay tribute, and sent ten elephants as a peace offering, in which he was graciously admitted to protection, and was allowed to retain his fort. "When the neighbouring country was freed from the enemies of religion, and the Rai of Hind became enrolled amongst the number of servants and friends," the Sultan prepared to return to Ghazna, and Kutbu-d din, after his departure, returned to Dehli, where festivities were celebrated on his arrival,—Praise of wine-bibbing and cup-bearers.

THE CONQUEST OF NAHRWALA, AND THE FLIGHT OF THE RAI

In the year 591 H. (1195 A.D.), when Kutbu-d din was again at Ajmir, intelligence was brought him that a party of seditious Mhers, "who were always shooting the arrow of deceit from the bow of refractoriness," had sent spies and messengers towards Nahrwala, representing that a detachment of the army of the Turks had arrived at Ajmir, of no great strength and numbers, and that if from that quarter a force could be immediately sent to join them, before the enemy could find the opportunity of putting themselves in a state of preparation, they could make a sudden night attack upon them, and might rid the country of them and if anyone of the Turkish army were to escape from the talons of the eagle of death, he must necessarily take the road of flight, and with his two horses would make three stages

Spannring des Bogens der Umbill zum Daumring gemacht," for which I see no authority in the original.

into one, until he reached Dehli in a state of distraction."

When this treacherous plan was revealed, Kutbu-din determined to anticipate it, and during the height of the hot season "before the sun arose, fell upon the advance guard of the black infidels, and like lions attacked them right and left." The action lasted during the whole day, and next morning that immense army of Nahrwala came to the assistance of the vanguard, slew many of the Musulmans, wounded their commander, pursued them to Ajmir, and encamped within one parasang of that place.

In this predicament, a confidential messenger was sent to Ghazna⁵⁹ "to explain before the sublime throne the position of the army of the infidels, and to ask for orders as to future proceedings." "A royal edict was issued conferring all kinds of honours and kindnesses upon the Khusru, and leaving to his entire discretion the subjection and extirpation of the turbulent." A very large army was despatched to reinforce him, under the command of Jahan Pahlawan, Asadu-din Arslan Kalij, Nasiru-din Husain, 'Izzu-din son of Muwaiyidu-din Balkh, and Sharfu-din Muhammad Jarah." These reinforcements arrived at the beginning of the cold season, when "the vanguard of the army of winter began to draw its sword from the scabbard, and the season of collecting armies and the time of making raids had returned."

"In the middle of the month of Safar, 593 H. (Jan., 1197), the world-conquering Khusru departed from Ajmir, and with every description of force turned his face towards the annihilation of the Rai of Nahrwala." When he reached the lofty forts of Pali and Nandul,⁶⁰ he

⁵⁹*In the latter half of the work the spelling is usually Ghaznin.*

⁶⁰*Hammer (Gemald. iv. 184.) following Briggs*

found them abandoned, and the abode of owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmans, and had collected under their leaders Rai Karan and Darabars, in great numbers "at the foot of Mount Abu, and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter." The Musulmans did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sultan Muhammad Sam Ghorī had been wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander. The Hindus seeing this hesitation, and misconstruing it into cowardice and alarm, abandoning the pass, "turned their faces towards the field of battle and the plain of honour and renown;" for "they were persuaded that fear had established itself in the hearts of the protectors of the sacred enclosure of religion." "The two armies stood face to face for some time, engaged in preparations for fight, and on the night preceeding Sunday, the 13th of Rabi'u-l awwal, in a fortunate moment the army of Islam advanced from its camp, and at morn reached the position of the infidels." A severe action ensued from dawn to mid-day, when "the army of idolatry and damnation turned its back in flight from the line of battle. Most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword, and from the heaps of the slain, the hills and the plains became of one level." Rai Karan effected his escape from the field. "More than twenty thousand slaves, and twenty elephants, and cattle and arms beyond all calculation,

(*Ferishta* I. 196) reads "*Bali and Nadole.*" They assume various forms in different manuscripts— "*Rahi and Bartaki, Nadul and Nazul.*" There are places between Ajmir and Mount Abu, which correspond to the names given in the text. The lithographed edition of *Ferishta* (I. 108) reads "*Dhutali and Bazul.*"

fell into the hands of the victors." You would have thought that the treasures of the kings of all the inhabited world had come into their possession."

"The city of Nahrwala, which is the most celebrated in that country, full of rivers," and the kingdom of Gujarat, which is "a separate region of the world," came under the dominion of the Musulmans, "and high and low were treated with royal benignity and justice." "The chief nobles and pillars of the State were favoured with handsome robes of honour, and received abundant proofs of royal kindness," then "the standards of the Khusru, victorious in battle, returned to Ajmir," whence they were moved towards Dehli, where they arrived at an auspicious moment. As an earnest of his regard and respect, Kutbu-d din sent to Ghazna treasures and various rarities, which were received by his majesty with suitable acknowledgments of the value and splendour of his general's services.

CAPTURE OF THE FORT OF KALINJAR

In the year 599 H. (1202 A.D.), Kutbu-d din proceeded to the investment of Kalinjar, on which expedition he was accompanied by the Sahib-Kiran, Shamsu-d din Altamsh. Encomiums on both warriors follow through several pages. "The accursed Parmar," the Rai of Kalinjar, fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and "placed the collar of subjection" round his neck, and, on his promise of allegiance, was admitted to the same favours as his ancestor had experienced from Mahmud Subuktigin, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements. His Diwan, or Mahtea, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate, in consequence of severe drought having dried up all the reser-

voirs of water in the forts. "On Monday, the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction, came out of the fort, and by compulsion left their native place empty." "and the fort of Kalinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexander" was taken. "The temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated." "Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindus." Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors.

"The reins of victory were then directed towards Mahoba, and the government of Kalinjar was conferred on Hazabbaru-d din Hasan Arnal. When Kutbu-d din was satisfied with all the arrangements made in that quarter, he went towards Badaun,⁶¹ "which is one of the mothers of cities, and one of the chiefest of the country of Hind."

THE VISIT OF MUHAMMAD BAKHTIYAR KHILJI & RETURN OF KUTBU-D DIN TO DEHLI

Shortly afterwards, "Ikhtiyaru-d din Muhammad Bakhtiyar, one of the chief supports of the State, the splendour of Islam, and celebrated throughout Hind for his religious wars, joined the auspicious stirrups and came to pay his respects from the direction of Oudh and Behar." "He presented twenty elephants and various kinds of jewels and moneys." "He was received with royal kindness and beneficence, and he was exalted above

⁶¹*Hammer (Gemald. iv. 185) following Briggs (Ferishta 1. 198) places Badaun between the Ganges and the Jamna, for which there is no authority in the original. It is in Rohilkhand, to the east of the Ganges.*

the leaders of the time;" and when he took his audience of leave, the blessed commands, investing him with authority, were renewed and augmented, and a tent, a *naubat*, a drum, a standard, and magnificent robe of honour, a horse and trappings, a waistband, sword, and a vest from the private wardrobe were conferred upon him."

"In a fortunate moment, and under an auspicious bird, the blessed standards were waved, and directed towards Dehli, the capital of prosperity and the altar of excellence."—Rhapsody on Kutbu-d din's justice.

THE RETURN OF MUHAMMAD GHORI FROM KHWARIZM AND HIS WAR AGAINST THE GAKKHURS

When the sublime standards were returning in the year 600 H. (1203 A.D.) from the capital of Khwarizm, the army of Khita (God's curse on it!) made an attack upon them, while on their march within the borders of Andkhud, in numbers exceeding the stars of heaven and the particles of the earth, and the great king, wounded and defeated, fled from the field of hatred towards Ghazna."

"Aibak Bak, one of the most confidential servants of the State, an officer of high rank in the army, who had been brought up in the royal court, fled from the field of battle, and carried away the impression that by heavenly visitation, the blessed person of the king had met with a misfortune and been slain. He fled with the speed of the wind to Multan, and, on his arrival, went immediately to Amir Dad Hasan, the lord of a standard, and deceitfully persuaded him that he had come for the purpose of imparting to him a royal command, which could only be communicated to him in private, and should not be publicly divulged." When the private conference was accorded to him, he took the opportunity of assassinating the governor, and so got possession of the fort of Multan. "For a long time the truth of the matter was not revealed, and a report was spread to the

effect that the governor had been imprisoned by the royal commands. After some delay, the various servants and officers of the Province became aware of what had really happened, and the intelligence of the true circumstances was spread throughout the far and near countries of Hind and Sind. Upon this, the tribe of Kokars (Gakkhurs) (God annihilate them!) said that from any one who had the least knowledge and sense, it could not be concealed that if the sacred person of the Sultan had been alive, the like of these transactions could never have been done by Aibak Bak, and that therefore the great king had exchanged his throne of empire for one of dust, and had departed from the house of mortality to the world of holiness. In consequence of these impressions, seditious thoughts entered the brains of the Hindus, and the madness of independence and dominion affected the heads of Bakan and Sarki, the chiefs of the Kokars, who thrust their heads out of the collar of obedience, and opened their hands for the destruction of villages and the plunder of cattle, and kindled the flames of turbulence and sedition between the waters of the Sodra⁶² and the Jelam, by the aid of a crowd of the dependents of Satan." "When their ravages had exceeded all bounds, Bahau-d din Muhammad, governor of Sangwan, with his brothers, who held lands (*akta'*) within the borders of Multan, accompanied by many of the chief people of the city, marched out against them, determined to repress the violence of those accursed rebels and enemies of the State and religion; but many of them were captured or slain by the exertions of the army of the infidels, in number like the

⁶² *Hammer (Gemald. iv. 183) says, "the river of Sodra, which, flowing by Sialkot, Sodra, and Wazirabad, discharges itself into the Chinab." But there is no such stream. The Sodra is the Chinab itself, so called from the old town of that name on its eastern bank.*

drops of rain or leaves of the forest. Their power consequently increased day by day, and a general named Sulaiman was obliged to fly before the superior numbers of the enemy." When these circumstances were reported to Muhammad Ghorî, he determined on proceeding to the scene of action, and sent on the Amir Hajib, Siraju-d din Abu Bakr, one of his confidential servants, to inform Kutbu-d din of his intentions. In consequence of which, Kutbu-d din advanced to meet his Majesty, at the opening of the cold season. "At every stage intelligence reached him from the royal camp, urging his advance, and informing him that the blood-thirsty sword would be sheathed, and the camp would halt, and that no measures would be taken to exterminate the infidels, until he had passed the river (Chinab) which intervened between his and the royal camp."

"Near the river of Sodra, Kutbu-d din killed four fierce tigers, at the roaring of which the heart was appalled," and on the day after crossing that river, he joined the camp of the king on the bank of the Jelam, and was received with royal kindness. "They mounted their horses and swam them like fish across the Jelam," "and on the bank of the river entered on their plans for the approaching action, and arranged all the preparations for fight, after joining together in consultation." Kutbu-d din suggested that it was not right for the king to expose his person against such enemies, and suggested that the command of the Musulman army should be entrusted to himself alone; but the persuasion of his general seemed to have had no effect upon the resolution of the Sultan.—Description of the battle near the ford of the Jelam, the waves of which were filled with blood, and in which "the armies of infidelity and true faith commingled together like waves of the sea, and contended with each other like night and day, or light and darkness." Shamsu-d din was also engaged in this fight.

—Extravaganzas upon spears and other weapons, and upon war-horses.

The Kokars were completely defeated, and, "in that country there remained not an inhabitant to light a fire." "Much spoil in slaves and weapons, beyond all enumeration, fell into the possession of the victors." One of the sons of the Kokar Rai, the chief instigator of these hostilities, rushed into the river with "a detachment of his Satanical followers, and fled with one horse from the field of battle to a fort on the hill of Jud, and having escaped the sword, threw into it the last breathings of a dying man." The next day, Muhaimmad Sam advanced towards the hill of Jud, when the action was renewed, which ended in the capture of the fortress, "and the Hindus like a torrent descended from the top of the hill to the bottom." The Rai of the hill of Jud, putting on the robes of a Brahman, presented himself like a slave, and kissed the face of the earth before the Sultan," by whom he was admitted to pardon. Immense booty was taken in the fort.

The Sultan then advanced to Lahore, accompanied by Kutbu-d din and the chief officers of State, and on Kutbu-d din's taking his audience of leave, before his return to Dehli, he received a dress of honour and an affectionate farewell.

DEATH OF THE SULTAN OF SULTANS, MUHAMMAD SAM

On the king's return from Lahore towards Ghazni, he had fixed his camp "within the borders of Dhamek, and his tent was pitched on the bank of a pure stream in a garden filled with lilies, jasmins," and other flowers. Here while he was engaged in his evening prayer, "some impious men (God's curse and destruction on them!) came running like the wind towards his majesty, the king of the world, and on the spot killed three armed attendants and two chamber-sweepers. They then surrounded the king's own tent, and one or two men out

of these three or four conspirators, ran up towards the king, and inflicted five or six desperate wounds upon the lord of the seven climes, and his spirit flew above the eight paradises and the battlements of the nine heavens, and joined those of the ten evangelists."

A long elegy follows upon his death. His body was carried to Ghazna. "When this dreadful intelligence was conveyed to the lion-hearted Khusru," he was deeply distressed, and, "when he was alone, streams of blood coursed down the face of his cheeks."

ALLEGIANCE OF THE NOBLES TO KUTBU-D DIN, AND HIS CONFIRMATION IN THE KINGDOMS OF HIND AND SIND

"For the consolation and satisfaction of the distant provinces, the auspicious mandates were issued to the different quarters of both sea and land," and the nobles and dependants of the Court came forward to offer their allegiance, and "the carpet of his audience-chamber was kissed by the Rais of Hind and the Khusrus of Chin."

"The keys of direction and prohibition in the capital of Ghazna fell into the hands of his officers, after the flight of Taju-d din Yalduz, and the whole country of Hind, from Pershaur to the shores of the ocean, and in the other direction, from Siwistan to the borders of the hills of Chin, came into the power of his servants and under the dominion of the executors of his orders."

"The public prayers and coinage of dinars and dirhams throughout the whole country, full of rivers, received honour and embellishment from his name and royal titles," and "Lohur, where the throne of Sultans had been established, and which was the altar of the good and pious, became the capital." "By his orders, the precepts of Islam received great promulgation, and the sun of righteousness cast its shadow on the countries of Hind, from the heaven of God's assistance."—Happy results of the king's mercy and justice.

Death of the Sultan of Sultans "by a fall from his

horse while playing the game of chaugan, and his burial at Lahore," like a treasure in the bowels of the earth.—An elegy upon his death.

ACCESSION OF SHAMSU-D DIN

"In the year 607 H. (1210 A.D.), the throne of the kingdoms of Hindustan received honour and embellishment from Shamsu-d din wau-d dunya the Emperor of Turk and 'Ajam, Abu-l Muzaffar Altamsh."

REVOLT OF THE TURKS IN THE CITY OF DEHLI

"Sirjandar Turki, who was the leader of all sedition, and who opened his hand to shed the blood of Muslims, with an army of bloodthirsty Turks broke out into open rebellion. Although the Sultan was frequently requested to repress their violence, he "refrained for several days" from doing so. At last, he determined to oppose them with a large army, headed "by the chiefs of the time, such as 'Izzu-d din Bakhtiyar, Nasiru-d din Mardan Shah, Hazabbaru-d din Ahmad Sur, and Iftikharu-d din Muhammad 'Umar, all valiant warriors."

"This army, assaulting like fire and moving like the wind, was drawn out in battle array like a hill of iron, near the Bagh-i Jun (the Jamna Garden)."—Hyperboles on battle, arms, and slaughter.

Aksankar Kitta and Taju-d din Farrukh Shah were slain in battle, but Sirjandar Turki "threw himself into the waters of the Jun, took to flight like a fox in fear of a lion, and departed by the way of river and hill like a crocodile and a leopard, and, starting and trembling, concealed himself in the jungles and forests, like a sword in a scabbard, or a pen in a writing-box," and all their followers were either killed or dispersed.

CAPTURE OF JALOR

After some time, they represented to his Majesty that the inhabitants of the fort of Jalewar (Jalor) had

determined to revenge the blood which had been shed, "and once or twice mention of the evil deeds and improprieties of that people was made before the sublime throne. Shamsu-d din accordingly assembled a large army, and headed by "a number of the pillars of the State, such as Ruknu-d din Hamza, 'Izzu-d din Bakhtiyar, Nasiru-d din Mardan Shah, Nasiru-d din 'Ali and Badru-d din Saukartigin," valiant men and skilful archers, "who could in a dark night hit with their arrows the mirror⁶³ on the forehead of an elephant." "The king took his way towards Jalewar by the aid of God," "and by reason of this scantiness of water and food it was a matter of danger to traverse that desert, where one might have thought that nothing but the face of demons and spirits could be seen, and the means of escape from it were not even written on the tablet of providential design."

"Udi Shah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jalewar, an exceedingly strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror." When the place was invested by Shamsu-d din, Udi Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness. While the terms of his surrender were under consideration, two or three of the bastions of his fort were demolished. He came, "with his head and feet naked, and placed his forehead on the earth" and was received with favour. The Sultan granted him his life, and restored his fortress, and in return the Rai presented respectfully an hundred camels and twenty horses, in the name of tribute and after the custom of service." The Sultan then returned to Dehli, "which is the capital of prosperity and the palace of glory," and after his arrival,

⁶³ *This was probably made of burnished steel, and must have been placed as a protection over the most vulnerable part of the elephant. Shortly afterwards, the author styles this plate "a Chinese mirror."*

"not a vestige or name remained of the idol temples which had reared their heads on high; and the light of faith shone out from the darkness of infidelity, like the sun from a curtain of sorrow, or after its emerging from an eclipse⁶⁴ and threw its shade over the provinces of Hind and Sind, the far and near countries of idolatry; and the moon of religion and the State became resplendent from the heaven of prosperity and glory."—Praise of Islam, justice and courage.

DEFEAT OF THE ARMY OF GHAZNA, AND SEIZURE OF TAJU-D DIN YALDUZ

"When the beautiful Canopus arose, and the vanguard of winter put the centre of the army of summer to flight," it entered into the royal determination "to destroy some tribe of the accursed infidels, or to move the auspicious standards for the purpose of capturing some city in the land of Hind." "In the midst of these reflections, messengers arrived frequently from Taju-d din, who had admitted into his brain the wind of pride and the arrogance of dominion," charged with the delivery of ridiculous propositions, which the Sultan was incensed to listen to. Shamsu-d din resolved to oppose his pretensions by force, and advanced with a large army to Samand, which he reached on Monday, the 3rd of Shawwal, 612 H. (Jan., 1216), and on his arrival was attacked by the advanced guard of Malik Taju-d din. During the action, the enemy suddenly came up towards the left wing of the auxiliaries of the faith, and desired to raise up a disturbance with their "watered blades, and to practice their deceits after the manner of foxes playing with lions, and with the absurd idea that they could

⁶⁴ *This implies a temporary revival of the Hindu power, which may have occurred under the unconverted rebel Turks who are represented as having shed the blood of Musulmans.*

thus take the countries of Hind and Sind.”—Then follows a description of the battle, which is described in terms peculiar to chess, with the introduction of hyperboles upon swords, dirks, maces, war-nooses, horsemen, horse-archers, arrows, spears, elements, justice, and stars.—Taju-d’din was wounded by an arrow shot by Muwaiyidu-l Mulk, and was subsequently taken prisoner and brought before Shamsu-d din.

THE FLIGHT OF NASIRU-D DIN AND CONQUEST OF LAHORE
 “After some time, the great lord Muwaiyidu-l Mulk Muhammad Junaidi was appointed Wazir.”—Encomium on his merits.—It was represented to his Majesty, that Malik Nasiru-d din “had placed his former engagements under the water of forgetfulness,” “and that in the receipts and disbursements of the account of his tribute he had incurred debt and balance,” “and that all the excellent advice that was offered to him was valued as so much dirt.” His Majesty accordingly, in a fortunate moment, marched in the beginning of Jumada-l akhir from Dehli, “may God protect it! (for its water and soil have always been mild and favourable to various temperaments, and its fire and wind have at all times been suitable and agreeable to the disposition of everybody.”) He marched with a large army towards the country of Lohur, of which when the enemy became aware “they began to be greatly agitated like fish upon dry land, and like water-fowl sought protection from the waters of the Biyah,” “on the banks of which stream they encamped with an army innumerable as ants and locusts.”

“On the fourteenth of the month of Shawwal, the victorious standards advanced with the whole army in battle array, from the borders of Loruh to the ford at the village of Chamba.” “Wind-footed they swam across the river, in comparison of which the Oxus and Jaxartes looked like a fountain.”

When Nasiru-d din "saw the victorious army cross that foaming stream without the aid and means of boats," he fled in alarm, "turning his face from the battle and slaughter" towards Lohur, whither he was pursued by the victorious army" which "could not see a trace of the dust raised by their swift flying horses."—His standards, drums, and camp equipage, besides immense booty, fell into the hands of the Royalists. The defeated general afterwards continued his flight "by the road of Uch."

Shamsu-d din arrived at Lohur, "which is among the mothers of the countries of religion, and among the chiefs of the provinces of Islam, and the abode and repose of the excellent and pious, and which for some days, on account of a number of calamities, and changes of governors, and the sedition of rebels, had been distracted by the flames of turbulence and opposition and was now again reduced to order by the breath of the zephyr of his justice." The captives who were taken in battle were pardoned, and after writing accounts of the victory and despatching them in various directions, Shamsu-d din returned to Dehli.

PRINCE NASIRU-D DIN APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF LAHORE

In the beginning of 614 H. (1217 A.D.), the government of Lohur was committed to the king's son, Nasiru-d din Mahmud, and the advice which was given to him as to the mode of conducting his administration is given at length.—Description of festivities, with a repetition of rhetorical flourishes about beauties, cups, goblets, stars, locks, mouths, singers, companions, horses, hawks, dogs, tigers, arrows, forts, and the game of chaugan, at which the king recreates himself.

THE CAPTURE OF BHAKKAR

This portion of the work opens with praise of God and king, upon whom Almighty's favours are showered, as is testified by his conquest of Kalewar (Gwalior), Rantan-

bhor, and Mandur,⁶⁵ Kanauj, Behar, and Barah, and his subjection of powerful Rais, and by his spreading the knowledge of Islam as far as the ocean; and amongst other arrangements made by which good government was secured, "an account of the proceedings of the king was written according to dates so as to form a model for the kings and Sultans." The forts of Uch Multan "which were stronger than the wall of Alexander" were also taken "in a manner which astonished the world," and while he was engaged in these conquests, it was reported to the king that Malik Nasiru-d din Kubacha, who was proud and arrogant, and "who regarded in his cruelty and unkindness the people of God as less than rubbish," "and out of his own pleasure and drunkenness would roast even hearts and draw tears of blood from the eyes," had fortified himself within the strong fort of Bhakkar, "the eye of the forts and the face of the kingdom of Hind," "and which had not been taken by any Khusru," and in which were deposited immense treasures.

Upon receiving this information, Shamsu-d din despatched his minister Khwaja-i Jahan Nizamu-l Mulk Muhammad Junaidi with a large army to Bhakkar, in the very height of the hot weather. Part of the army marched by land "a difficult road through the jungles," and part went by water. After the fort was invested, and the enemy was reduced to extrimities, Nasiru-d din despatched his son Alau-d din Muhammad to Shamsu-d din with an hundred lacs of Dehliwals,⁶⁶ and thousands of suits of clothes. The Sultan received him

⁶⁵Or Mandawar, in the Siwalik hills. See "Tabakat-i Nasiri."

⁶⁶Coins of the period struck at Dehli, composed of a mixture of silver and copper. See E. Thomas, *Coins of Patan Sultans of Hindustan*, pp. 10, 11; and *Jour. R.A.S. N.S. II.* p. 149.

kindly, but would not allow him to return, in consequence of which, Nasiru-d din became much alarmed and ill, "and his head was bowed down to his knees like a violet, with his eyes of expectation open like a narcissus," and he "wailed like Jacob for the absence of Joseph."

Nasiru-d din shortly after died of grief, "and the boat of his life was drowned in the whirlpool of death," "though he left behind him nearly a thousand boats" which could render no service to him. The result of his death was that "more than five hundred lacs of Dehliwals, various kinds of inlaid articles and jewels, and pearls exceeding, white, and costly garments were deposited in the royal treasury of Shamsu-d din," and possession was also taken of "twelve celebrated forts, which had never been before captured," "and Siwistan and Luk (Lakki) as far as the shores of the sea;" "and the coinage was struck, and the prayers read in his auspicious name throughout all the countries of Hindustan and the provinces of Kusdar and Makran." He returned to Dehli on the 14th of Rabi'ul awwal, 624 H.

ARRIVAL OF A DRESS OF INVESTITURE FROM THE 'ABBASI KHALIFA

After some time a dress of honour was received from the Imam Mustanisirbi-llah by the Sultan at Dehli, accompanied by a diploma confirming him in the kingdom of Hindustan, with the title of the great Sultan. He received the diploma with deep respect, and appointed the following day, namely the 23rd Rabi'u-l awwal, (626 H. (Feb. 1229 A.D.) for a general assembly, in which the farman was read out in the presence of the King, the princes, and nobles. It declared that he was confirmed in the possession "of all the land and sea which he had conquered." Robes were bestowed upon the ambassadors, the chiefs, and nobles, in honour of the event, and great joy prevailed upon the occasion throughout the capital.

KAMILU-T TAWARIKH
OF
IBN ASIR

(Called also by the author *Kamil fi-t Tarikh*. It is also known to persian writers as *Tarikh-i Kamil*. The author of this celebrated general history was Shaikh Abu-l Hasan 'Ali Ibn Abu-l Karam Muhammad ibn 'Abdu-l Karim ibn Abdu-l Wahid as Shaibani. He was surnamed 'Izzu-d din; majesty to religion," but he is commonly known as Ibn Asir (or Athir according to Arabic pronounciation). He was born in the year 555 H. (1160 in the Jazirat ibn 'Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul, and hence the epithet "al Jazari, the islander," is frequently added to his name. Ibn Khallikan, who was personally acquainted with him, says that he studied first at Mosul and afterwards at Baghdad, in Syria, and at Jerusalem. Returning to Mosul he devoted himself most assiduously to literary pursuits, and his house became the resort of all the learned men who inhabited or visited that town. Ibn Khallikan met him at Aleppo in 626 H., 1229 A.D., and describes him as "a man of the highest accomplishments and most excellent qualities, but extremely modest." He speaks of him fondly in another place as "Our *Shaikh*, Ibn Asir." and of his accomplishments he says "His knowledge of the traditions and his acquaintance with that science in its various branches placed him in the first rank, and his learning as an historian of the ancients and moderns was not less extensive; he was perfectly familiar with the genealogy of the Arabs, their adventures, combats, and history; whilst his great work, the *Kamil* or complete, embracing the history of the world from the earliest period to the year

628 of the Hijra (1230 A.D.), merits its reputation as one of the best productions of the kind."

The *Kamilu-t Tawarikh* enjoys a very high reputation, and has been much used and quoted both in Asia and Europe. Ibn Khaldun borrowed largely from it, and it has been drawn upon by Ockley for his *History of the Saracens*, by Malcolm for the *History of Persia*, and by Weil for his *Geschichte der Chalifen*. The narrative is very clear and succinct, but the work, from its great range, is very voluminous. It contains a few brief notices of the Jats in the second and third centuries of the Hijra, and it also gives some interesting details of the Arab occupation of Sind, but so far as India is concerned it is chiefly valuable for its notices of the Ghaznvides and the Ghorians. The work closes soon after the decline of the latter dynasty.

The author of the *Habibu-s Siyar* relates that "the *Tarikh-i Kamil*, one of the two histories written by Ibn Asir" was translated into Persian under the orders of Miran Shah, son of Timur, by Najmu-d din surnamed, Nizari, one of that prince's secretaries.

Besides the work before us, Ibn Asir wrote an abridgement containing many corrections and improvements of Abu Sa'du-s Samanis *Ansah*, upon *Patronymics*, etc., Another of his works was the "*Akhbaru-s Sahaba*; history of the companions of the Prophet." He had two brothers, who also engaged in literary pursuits, and one of them, Majdu-d din, wrote a work on the traditions entitled "*Jami'u-l Usul min Hadisu-r Rasul*," which has been erroneously attributed to our author.

There are MSS. of several portions of the *Kamilu-t Tawarikh* in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library; and in Sir H. Elliot's Library there is a borrowed MS. of part of the work, in bad condition and much worm-eaten. A complete edition of the whole work will soon be available, as it is passing through the press at Leydon, under the careful and able editorship

of Professor Tornberg, who bases his text upon the MSS. of Berlin, Paris, and the British Museum. Seven volumes have already been published, and the whole work will be comprised in twelve.¹

EXTRACTS

Hijra 151. A.D. 768.

In this year the Kurks made an attack upon Jidda.

Hijra 153. A.D. 770

In this year Al Mansur returned from Mecca to Basra, and embarked forces in ships against the Kurks who, as before related, had made an incursion upon Jidda.

HIJRA 160. A.D. 776.—CONQUEST OF THE TOWN BARADA²

In the year 159, Al Mahdi sent an army by sea under 'Abdu-l Malik bin Shahabu-l Musamma'i to India. The force consisted of a large number of troops and and volunteers, among whom as Al Rabi' bin Subaih. They proceeded on their way and at length disembarked at Barada. When they reached the place they laid siege to it. The people of the neighbourhood fought with them frequently. The town was reduced to ex-

¹*De Slane's Ibn Khallikan Introd. xii. II. 288. See D'Herbelot, "Gezeri," De Rossi, "Atir," Bodleian Cat. 693, 696, 784; Hamaker, 164; Fraehn, 44; Wustenfelf, 84; Rampoldi, viii. 517, ix. 281, xi. 57; Gemaldesaal Pref. xi. and vi. 2; Jenisch Reg. Pers. 123; Wilken, Samanidarum, 191-2; D'Ohsson, Mongols, Pref. x.; Weil II. ix; Reinaud's Aboul Feda, 9; Sprenger, on Mahomedanism, 73; Bush, Life of Mahomet, 255; Nouv. Mel. As. I. 433, 434; Col. Or. I. 208; Not. et Ext. I. 542; Jour. As. 4. Ser. 188; Not. des MSS. II; Hammer Gold. Horde, xv. xxv.; Univ. Hist. III. 239, 283.*

²"Barbad" In the MS. of the B.Mus.

tremities, and God prevailed over it in the same year. The people were forbidden to worship the Budd, which the Muhammadans burned. Some of the people were burned, the rest were slain, and twenty Musulmans perished in testimony of their faith. God came to them, and raised the sea against them, so they waited until the weather should be favourable. Disease then fell upon them, and about a thousand of them died, among whom was Rabi' bin Subaih. They then returned homewards and reached the coast of Persia, in what is called the Bahru-l Hamran. There the wind rose in the night time and wrecked their vessels. Some were drowned, and some escaped.

HIJRA 219. A.D. 834.—WAR AGAINST THE JATS

In the month of Jumada-l akhir, Al M'utasim sent 'Ajif bin 'Isa to fight against the Jats, who had seized upon the roads of Hajar, and had plundered the corn which was in the stacks of Kaskar, and in the stores of the towns. They spread terror over the roads, and planted posts in all directions towards the desert. At the news of the approach of Ajif they retired. Ajif marched to below Wasit and there took post on the river Bardad and Anhara. Then they retreated and entered another place, but the roads baffled them. Ajif then forced 1,500 of them to fight, and killed on the field of battle 300 men. Their leaders he made prisoners, and sent the chief to the gate of M'utasim. Ajif was engaged against the Jats twenty-five days, and vanquished a great many of them. The chief of the Jats was Muhammad bin 'Usman, and the commander was Samlu. Ajif then took up a position, and remained opposed to them seven months. Mansur bin Bassam was at Musal.

HIJRA 220. A.D. 835.—DEFEAT OF THE JATS BY AJIF.

In this year Ajif came to Baghdad from his expedition against the Jats, after having defeated and killed many

of them. The remnant was compelled to ask quarter, which was conceded to them. They then marched away with him in Zi'l hijja, 219 (834 A.D.) and their number, including women and children, was twenty-seven thousand. The fighting men among them were twelve thousand. Ajif placed his conquered foes in boats, and sent them dressed as they had appeared in battle, with their trumpets, to Baghdad. They reached that city on the tenth Muharram, 220. They proceeded in boats to the Shammasiya (suburb of Baghdad). The Jats were accoutred as for battle, and were blowing their horns. And Ajif gave to each of his men two dinars (as a present). The Jats stayed on board their ships three days, and were then handed over to Bishr ibnu-s Samaida', who conveyed them to Khanikin. Thence they were removed to the (northern) frontier to Ain-zarba, and the Byzantines made a raid upon them and not one of them escaped.³

CONQUEST OF BHATIA

In the year 396 Hijra (1006 A.D.) Yaminu-d daula fought against Bhatia, one of the dependencies of Hind, which is situated beyond Multan. The chief of the place was named Bahira. It is a fine city, enclosed with high walls, and a deep ditch. The chief marched out to meet his enemy, and fought for three days with the Musulmans. On the fourth he fled, and sought to get back into the city; but the Musulmans reached the gate before the fugitives, overpowered them, and disarmed them. A dreadful slaughter ensued, the women were dishonoured, and the property siezed. When Bahira saw this destruction, he fled with some trusty followers to the tops of the mountains. Mahmud sent a force in pursuit, which overtook and surrounded the party, and

³(There are some doubtful words in this extract, but the sense appears to be as translated).

put all the chiefs to the sword. Bahira saw that no hope was left, so he drew a dagger and killed himself. Mahmud remained in Bhatia until he had settled its affairs, and drawn up rules for its governance. He then returned towards Ghazna, having appointed a representative at Bhatia to instruct the people who had become Muhammadans. On his journey home he encountered great difficulties from heavy rains and swollen rivers, and great quantities of things belonging to him and his army were carried away by the waters.

CONQUEST OF MULTAN

In the year 396 Hijra (1006. A.D.) Sultan Yaminu-d daula fought against Multan. The cause of this was that the ruler of the place, Abu-l Futuh was disaffected, false to his faith, and inclined to heresy (*ilhad.*) He had also required the people of his country to follow his opinions, and they had consented. Yaminu-d daula resolved to attack him and marched against him, but the rivers on the road were very large and broad, especially the Sihun (Indus), and the enemy was ready to oppose the passage. So Mahmud sent to Andbal⁴ and asked permission to pass through his country to Multan, but the request was refused. Mahmud resolved therefore to deal with him first, and afterwards to prosecute his original intention. So he entered into his country and overran it; and he killed many of the people, plundered their property, and fired their houses. Andbal fled and Mahmud followed his traces, like fire in the tracks of Satan, from pass to pass until he reached Kashmir. When Abu-l Futuh heard of this victory, he saw the futility of his rebellion, and sending his property to Sarandip, he evacuated Multan, Yaminu-d daula then went to Multan, and finding the people infatuated in their heresy, he besieged the place

⁴(Anand-pal).

closely, and carried on the fight until he took it by storm. He fined the inhabitants 20,000 dirhams for their rebellion.

CONQUEST OF MANSURA

After the capture of Somnat, Mahmud received intelligence that Bhim the chief of Anhalwara had gone to the fort of Kandahat, which is situated about forty parasangs from Somnat between that place and the desert. He marched thither, and when he came in front of the place he questioned some men who were hunting, as to the tide. From them he learned that there was a practicable ford, but that if the wind blew a little, he might be subnerged. Mahmud prayed to the Almighty and then entered the water. He and his forces passed over safely, and drove the enemy out of the place. From thence he returned, intending to proceed against Mansura, the ruler of which was an apostate Muhammadan. When the news of Mahmud's approach reached this chief, he fled into the date-palm forests. Mahmud proceeded against him, and surrounding him and his adherents, many of them were slain, many drowned, and but few escaped. Mahmud then went to Bhatia, and after reducing the inhabitants to obedience, he returned to Ghazni, where he arrived on the 10th Safar 417 H.

REVOLT AND DEATH OF AHMAD NIALTIGIN

In the year (4)25 (1034 A.D.). Masud, son of Mahmud, returned to Hind to destroy the Turks (*al ghuzz*); and Ahmad Nialtigin again exerting himself to excite rebellion in the provinces of Hind, proceeded with all his assembles forces to the territories (*bilad*) of Balazi. Mas'ud sent a numerous army against him, and the chiefs of Hind being averse to his entering into their territories, closed the roads against him. Before the army reached the passage he attacked it, and retreated

fighting towards Multan. Several of the Indian chiefs proceeded to Bhatia. He had with him a considerable unbroken force, and the chief of the place not having strength to arrest his progress, Ahmad demanded boats to enable him to cross the river Indus, and these were supplied. In the midst of the stream there was an island, which Ahmad and his adherents perceived, and close by in another direction lay the desert. They did not know that the water was deep there. The Indian chief directed the owners of the boats to transport the fugitives to the island and to return. Ahmad and his adherents remained there, and they had no food but what they had brought with them. They stayed there nine days, and their provisions were consumed. Having even devoured their animals they were reduced to extremity, and resolved to pass through the water; but they had no sooner entered it than they discovered its depth, and, besides this, a great impediment in the mud. The Indian sent over his soldiers against them in boats, who attacked them while they were in that plight, and killed many of them. The sons of Ahmad were taken prisoners, and when Ahmad himself fell into their hands they killed him. His companions also were all either slain, taken prisoners, or drowned.

WAR BETWEEN SHAHHABU-D DIN AND THE KING OF BENARES. Shahabud-din Ghori, king of Ghazni, sent his slave, Kutbu-d din, to make war against the provinces of Hind, and this general made an incursion in which he killed many, and returned home with prisoners and booty. The king of Benares was the greatest king in India, and possessed the largest territory, extending lengthwise from the borders of China to the province of Malawa (Malwa), and in breadth from the sea to within ten days' journey to Lahore. When he was informed of this inroad, he collected his forces, and in the year 590 (1194 A.D.), he entered the territories of the Muham-

madans, Shahabu-d din Ghorî marched forth to oppose him, and the two armies met on the river Jumna,⁵ which is a river about as large as the Tigris at Musal. The Hindu prince had seven hundred elephants, and his men were said to amount to a million. There were many nobles in his army. There were Mussulmans in that country since the days of Mahmud bin Subuktigin, who continued faithful to the law of Islam, and constant in prayer and good works. When the two armies met there was great carnage; the infidels were sustained by their numbers, the Musulmans by their courage, but in the end the infidels fled, and the faithful were victorious. The slaughter of the Hindus was immense; none were spared except women and children, and the carnage of the men went on until the earth was weary. Ninety elephants were captured, and of the rest some were killed, and some escaped. The Hindu king was slain, and no one would have recognized his corpse but for the fact of his teeth, which were weak at their roots, being fastened in with golden wire. After the flight of the Hindus Shabadu-d din entered Benares, and carried off its treasures upon fourteen hundred camels. He then returned to Ghazni. Among the elephants which were captured there was a white one. A person who saw it told me that when the elephants were brought before Shahabu-d din, and were ordered to salute, they all saluted except the white one. No one should be surprised at what I have said about the elephants, for they understand what is said to them. I myself saw one at Musal with his keeper, which did whatever his keeper told him.

⁵(Tronberg reads *makhun but ma jaun* but "the river Jumna" must be meant. The battle was fought near that river).

NIZAMU-T TAWARIKH OF SA'ID 'ABDU-LLA, BAIZAWI

This "Arrangement or String of Histories" is a small work devoted to general history, well known in Europe, but in too compendious a form to be of any great use, for in some of the dynasties treated of we have little beyond the names of the kings and the dates of their decease. Its value is chiefly attributable to the early period at which it was written.

The author was Abu Sa'id 'Abdu-llah bin Abu-l Hasan 'Ali Baizawi.¹ His father was, as well as himself, a "Kaziu-l kuzzat," or chief kazi, and his grandfather exercised the functions of Imam. He was born at Baiza, a town at a short distance from Shiraz, and was kazi, first at Shiraz and afterwards at Tabriz, where he died in the year 685 H., 1286. A.D. Haji Khalfa says he died either in that year or 692 H.² This author has

¹ This is what he calls himself in the Preface to the *Nizamu-t Tawarikh*, but Haji Khalfa styles him *Nasiru-d din Abu Sa'id 'Abdu-llah bin 'Umar Baizawi*. S. de Sacy also calls him *Abu-l Kasim*, 'Umar his father, and *Abul Hasan 'Ali* his grandfather. In one biography in my possession, he is named *Kazi Nasiru-d din Abu-l Khair 'Abdu-llah bin 'Umar bin Muhammad bin 'Ali Shirazi Baizawi*. The *Haf Iklim* calls him *Kazi Nasiru-d din bin Kazi Imam Badru-d din 'Umar bin Fakhru-d din Ali*.

² The two first dates are given by most of the European authorities who follow Haji Khalfa. Ram-poldi gives his death in 1286 A.D. or 685 A.H. The *Fakhru-l Wasil* has a choronogram which gives 691. *Abu-l Muhasin* and the MS. quoted by Casiri gives

obtained great celebrity from his commentary upon the Kuran, entitled *Anwaru-t Tanzil wa asrara-t Tawil*—"the lights of revelation and mysteries of allegorical interpretation," which has itself been commented on by many succeeding authors, of which a bit is given by Haji Khalfa, in his *Lexicon*, Vol. I., pp. 469-81. This is considered generally the best commentary, and has been largely used by Sale and others. There are several copies of it in Europe, enumerated by De Rossi. It has lately been printed at Leipsig by Professor Fleischer. Baizawi was the author of other works on law, theology, logic, and grammar, all written in Arabic, but the *Nizamu-t Tawarikh* is in Persian, in order, as he says, "that it might be of more general use."

A full account of the *Nizamu-t Tawarikh* has been given by Silvestre de Sacy, in the *Notices des Manuscrits*, Tom. lv. pp. 672-696, from the Appendix of which article it appears that there is another work of the same name, composed by Kazi Jalalu-d din, wazir of Mahmud the Ghaznvide, in which I am disposed to apprehend some error of name or designation. Amongst other extracts given by him he has translated the brief histories of the Assassins and Atabaks.

There is some doubt about the exact date of the composition of this work. It is generally supposed that it was written about 647 H., but there are dates mentioned in it subsequent to that period. For instance, in the history of the Atabaks, there is one of 686, and towards the close of the Moghal history, there are 684 and 690; and 694 is repeated four times. There appears nothing like interpolation in these passages, and there would therefore appear some reason to suppose that 694 was the real date of composition, or at least of final revision, and that the latest date mentioned by Haji Khalfa,

685, and Yafi'i mentions his death under the annals of 692.

namely, 699 (A.D. 1299-1300), is the most probable one of the author's death. Still this is opposed to all other authorities. M. Silvestre de Sacy examined two copies of the work in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, in one of which he found dates later than 674. He mentions particularly the date of 689 (in my copy 686) in the history of the Atabaks, and he observes, what is very true, that at the beginning of that history their power is said to have commenced in 543, and to have lasted up to the time of composition, 130 years (131 in mine), which fixes the date in 674. It is easy, however, to read 650 for 630. M. de Sacy does not notice the additions to the Moghal history in either of the copies in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. My own copy, which is taken from a very excellent one written in 1108 H. has distinctly in the preface, as well as the conclusion, the year of 694 H. It is to be observed that in Arabic 90 and 70 are written almost in the same form, when without diacritical marks. I have seen one copy in which the Perso-Moghal history is carried down to 739 H., but that evidently contained additions by the copyist. Altogether, if so many authorities were not arrayed against me, I should prefer fixing the date at 694. instead of 674. The question, however, is not of the least consequence. The work is divided into four books.

CONTENTS

Book I.—Prophets and Patriarchs from Adam to Nuh, pp. 6-12.

Book II.—Kings of Persia to the time of the Muslims.

1. Peshdadi; 2. Kaiani; 3. Asghani; 4. Sassani; pp. 13-77.

Book III.—Muhammad and his successors, including the Umayyides and 'Abbasides, pp. 78-119.

Book IV.—Dynasties established in Iran during the time of the 'Abbasides. 1. Saffari; 2. Samani;

3. Ghaznivides; Dailima; 5. Saljuki; 6. Malahida; 7. Salghari; 8. Khwarizmi; 9. Moghal. pp. 119-200.

Size—small 8vo. containing 200 pages, each of 11 lines.

The *Nizamu-t tawarikh* is better known in Europe than in India. Besides the copies noticed by S. de Sacy, there is one in the British Museum, No. 16708. Sir W. Ouseley quotes another. Yet it is mentioned by M. Fræhn amongst his *Desiderata*.³

EXTRACTS

The Kings of Ghazni

Their number amounts to twelve, and their rule endured for one hundred and sixty-one years. The origin of this family dates from the middle of the days of the Dailamites, but as its members were great men under the Samanis, I am desirous that my accounts of these two dynasties should not be separated. The following are the names of these kings, viz.:—1. Sultan Yaminu-d daula Abu-l kasim Mahmud, son of Nasiru-d din Subuktigin; 2. Masud, son of Mahmud; 3. Muhammad Makhul (the blind), son of Mahmud; 4. Maudud, son of Mas'ud; 5. Mas'ud, son of Mahmud; 6. 'Ali, son of Masud; 7. 'Abdu-r Rashid, son of Mahmud; 8. Ibrahim, son of Mas'ud; 9. Mas'ud son of Ibrahim; 10. Arslan Shah, son of Mas'ud; 11. Bahram Shah, son of Mas'ud; 12. Khusru Shah, son of Bahram Shah. Nasiru-d din died in the

³Compare *Biographie Universelle*, Tom. iv. p. 67; *De Rossi, Dizionario degli Autori Arabe*, p. 49; *Ahmad Razi's Haft Iktim*, p. 120; *D'Herbelot's Bibliothéque Orientale*, Tom. v. p. 721; *M. Fraehn's Indications Bibliographiques*, No. 161; *Rampoldi's Annali Mussulmani*, Tom. i. p. 339, Tom. ix. p. 445; *T. W. Beale's Miftahu-t tawarikh*, p. 104; *Ouseley's Jehanara*, p. xvi.; *Casiri's Bibliotheca Arab.*, Tom. i. p. 491; *S. de Sacy's Anthol.*, p. 37.

year 387 H. (997 A.D.) and the command of his troops descended to Mahmud by inheritance, and by confirmation of Nuh, son of Mansur. His victory over 'Abdu-l-Malik, when that chieftain was put to flight, added much to his power, and he was confirmed in the government of Khurasan and Sijistan, and he received a robe of honour with the title of Sultan from the Khalif, who also made a treaty with him. In consequence of the complaints of the oppression practised by the descendants of Fakhru-d din Dailami, he marched, towards Jurjan and 'Irak, and took the country from them. Afterwards he turned his arms towards Hind, and conquered many of its cities and forts. He demolished the Hindu temples⁴ and gave prevalence to the Muhammadan faith. He ruled with great justice, and he stands unparalleled among all the Muhammadan kings. He summoned Israil son of Sulaiman, the Saljuk, from Mawara-n Nahr, and apprehending danger from the immense number of that tribe, he sent him to the fort of Kalinjar in Hind, where he remained till he died. The capture of this Saljuk chief was the cause of the weakness of his descendants. Mahmud Subuktigin died in A.H. 420 (1029 A.D.).

SULTAN MASUD

According to the will of Mahmud, his son Mas'ud was to have the government of Khurasan, 'Irak, and Persia, and his second son, Muhammad, the kingdom of Ghazni and the country of Hind. Masud requested his brother to have his name read along with his own in the Khutba, but this was not complied with, therefore Mas'ud marched to invade Ghazni. Before he reached there, Muhammad was taken prisoner by Yusuf, son of Subuktigin, and sent to the fort of Bulbad.⁵ Masud, after his arrival at Ghazni,

⁴(The two following lines are not in Sir H. Elliott's MS)

sent Yusuf to prison, and became master of all the dominions of his father. In his time the Saljuks crossed the Jihun and invaded Khurasan. He fought with them and made peace with them severel times, but being defeated in A.H. 432 (1040 A.D.) he returned to Ghazni where his brother Muhammad had regained power in his absence. On his arrival he was consigned to a fort, and Ahmad, son of Muhammad went direct from his father to the fort and there slew him, A.H. 433 (1041 A.D.)

SULTAN MUHAMMAD MAKHUL

Sultan Muhammad Makhul bin Mahmud ruled for nearly four years over the dominions of Ghazni, after the death of his father. When his brother was slain, Maudud, son of the deceased, armed against him, and proving victorious, put him and his sons to death.

SULTAN MAUDUD

Maudud, having taken revenge for his father's death, sat on the throne for nearly seven years, and brought the country of his uncle under his dominion. He died in A. H. 441 (1049 A.D.).

SULTAN MAS'UD II.

Mas'ud, son of Maudud, was quite a boy at the death of his father. The Government was carried on for a few days in his name, but the ministers and nobles then conspired to place the royal crown on the head of his uncle.

SULTAN 'ALI

When Sultan 'Ali, son of Mas'ud, obtained the throne, 'Abdu-r Rashid, son of Mahmud, who for many years had been in prison, contrived to escape, and having collected an army, 'Ali fled before him, and was discomfited.

**Another copy reads "Mangsal."*

SULTAN 'ABDU-R RASHID.

He reigned nearly seven years and died A.H. 445 (1053 A. D.).

SULTAN IBRAHIM⁶.

Sultan Ibrahim, son of Mas'ud, ruled for a period extending from A.H. 450 to 429 (1058 to 1098). He raised no palaces for himself, but only mosques and colleges for the great and glorious God.

SULTAN MAS'UD III

Mas'ud, son of Ibrahim, occupied the throne for sixteen years, and expired in A.H. 508 (1114 A.D.)

SULTAN ARSLAN SHAH

Sultan Arslan Shah, by his wisdom and prudence, obtained the succession to his father Mas'ud. His brother Bahram then fled in alarm, and sought refuge with his maternal uncle, Sultan Sanjar, the Saljuk, whom he brought against Ghazni. A battle ensued, in which Arslan Shah was defeated., and Sanjar having placed Bahram on the throne, returned to Khurasan. Soon after his departure, Arslan Shah attacked Bahram, who was again obliged to fly, but being once more assisted by Sanjar, with a large army, he went up against Ghazni, gained a victory, and put Arslan Shah to death, in A.H. 512 (1118 A.D.).

SULTAN BAHRAM SHAH

Bahram Shah, son of Mas'ud, had reigned some days, when he was attacked in Ghazni by 'Alau-d din Husain, son of Hasan, the first of the kings of Ghor. Bahram Shah fled before him from Ghazni, in which place 'Alau

⁶(The author passes unnoticed the interval of five years which he has left between the reigns of 'Abdu-r Rashid and Ibrahim, and makes no mention of the reign of Farrukh-zad).

-d din established his own brother, Saifu-d din, and then returned. Afterwards Bahram Shah came back to Ghazni, and ordered Saifu-d din to be seated on a cow, and paraded round the city. When 'Alau-d din heard of this he became greatly infuriated, and marched with a large army towards Ghazni, but Bahram died before his arrival. He was succeeded by his son, Khusru Shah.

SULTAN KHUSRU SHAH

A few days after his accession Alau-d din arrived, and Khusru fled to the country of Hind. 'Alau-d din then plundered Ghazni, and massacred a great number of its inhabitants. He left there his nephews, Ghiyasu-d din Abu-l Fath Muhammadi, and Shaabu-d din Abu-l Muzaffar, sons of Sam, son of Hasan. They having succeeded in the capture of Khusru Shah, by various expedients through which he was lulled into security, kept him prisoner in a fort. They subjugated all the countries which had been under the rule of the kings of Ghazni, and chose Dehli for their residence. Khusru Shah died in A.H. 555 (1160 A.D.), and with him ended the Ghaznvide dynasty.

After some time Ghiyasu-d din died, and the country remained in the sole and absolute possession of Shahabu-d din to the time of Sultan Muhammad Takash, when he was assassinated by the *Malahida* (Isma'lieans) in Hirat. He was succeeded in the kingdom of Hind by Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh, one of his slaves (*mawali*), with whose descendants it remains to this day. The only names which the compiler knows of the Ghorian dynasty who ruled in Hind are these three:—'Aalu-d din Husain Jahan-soz. Ghiyasu-d din Muhammad, Shahabu-d din Muhammad.

TARIKH-I JAHAN-KUSHA
OF
ALAU-D DIN JUWAINI¹

(The *Tarikh-i Jahan-Kusha*, or *Jahan-Kushai*, "the History of the Conquest of the World," is the work of 'Alau-d din Malik, son of Bahau-d din Muhammad Juwaini, but the author is better known to Europeans by the name of 'Ata Malik Juwaini. He was a native of Juwain, in Khurasan, near Naishapur. The date of his birth is unknown, but he was twenty-seven years of age when he began to write his history.

Bahau-d din was one of the principal revenue officers of Persia under the Mongol governor Arghun; and his son 'Alau-d din, disregarding his father's advice to adopt literature as his profession, entered into public employ in his father's office before he had completed his twentieth year. When Mangū Khan was elected emperor, Arghun went to Tartary in 650, to pay his respects to the new sovereign, and Bahau-d din with his son, our author, proceeded thither in his suite. Arghun was confirmed in his office, and he made Bahau-d din chief superintendent of the revenues of his province. Shortly after his return in 651 (1253 A.D.), Bahau-d din died at the age of sixty. When Hulaku Khan arrived in Persia, in 654 H., the viceroy Arghun was called to court; and on his departure he left 'Alau-d din at court of the Emperor as one of his representatives. While thus situated our author followed in the suite of Hulaku during his campaign against the Isma'ilians. His brother, Shamsu-d

¹ (This article has been drawn from M. Quatremere's notice in the *Mines de l'Orient*, and Baron D'Ohsson's account of the work in the Preface to his *Hist. des Mongols*).

din, became wazir of Hulaku in 662 (1263-4 A.D.), and 'Alau-d din was appointed governor of Baghdad.

'Alau-d din had made himself conspicuous by his zeal against the Ismai'lians, which incited three men of that sect to attempt his assassination. He escaped this danger, but only to endure great reverses and ignominy. Intrigues were formed against him, he was dismissed from office, fined heavily, tortured, and paraded naked all round Baghdad. He remained for some time afterwards in confinement at Hamadan, but his innocence being proved, the fine exacted from him was returned, and he was restored to his office, which he retained until his death in 681.

In character he was naturally mild and just, but he was so blinded by the power and success of his masters that he could see nothing but good in them and their doings. "Placed as he was," says M. D'Ohsson, "it is manifest that he could not write freely; but he of his own accord made himself the panegyrist of those barbarians who had utterly ruined his country, and who continued to waste and oppress the dominions of the Muhammadans. He speaks with a profound veneration of Changiz Khan and his descendants, he lauds Mangu to the skies, and in his honour he exhausts his stock of the most exaggerated hyperbole. More than this, he strives to prove in his preface that the ruin of so many Musulman countries by the Mughal armies was a necessary evil, from which arose two benefits—one spiritual, the other temporal. He does not blush to boast of the gentleness of the Mughals towards those who submitted to them, and he praises with better reason their tolerance of all religions."

His occupations he tells us left him little leisure for the acquisition of useful knowledge up to the age of twenty-seven, and he expresses his regret that he had not adopted the course of life advised by his father; but years had matured his reason, and he was resolved to

make up for lost time. He had several times travelled over Transoxiana and Turkistan, as well as the more western regions. He had been a witness of many events, and he had besides obtained information from well-informed and trustworthy persons, so in the year 650, during his stay at the court of Mangu, at the request of his friends he began to write his history, the chief object of which was to perpetuate the memory of the great actions of the Emperor Mangu. The style of the work is much admired by Orientals, "but a European may be allowed to pronounce it inflated, and to wish that the author had used more truth in his colouring, and more method in his narrative." The history stops at the year 655 (1257 A.D.), although the author lived up to the year 681 (1282 A.D.).

The M.S. used by M. Quatremere and Baron D'Ohsson in an incomplete one belonging to the Imperial Library at Paris. "The *Jahan Kushai*," says Sir H. Elliot, "though not uncommon in Europe, is very rare in India. All my research has only procured for me one copy, and that belongs to Munshi 'Abdu-r Razzak, Sarrishtadar of the Civil Court of Farukhabad. It is very clean, and well written in Nasta'lik, but contains many errors. Its extent is 275 folios of nineteen lines in each page." There is no copy of the work in Sir H. Elliot's library).

EXTRACTS²

Punishment of Criminals

It is a custom amongst the Mughals that when any one has committed a crime worthy of death, should he not be sentenced to that penalty, they send him to the wars, remarking that if he was destined to be slain, he may be slain in fight; or they send him on a message or

² (All these extracts were translated by Sir H. Elliot).

embassy to rebellious chiefs, from whom they think it most probable he will never be allowed to return; or they send him to some hot place where a pestilent wind blows; and it was for such a reason they sent Balaktigin³ on an embassy to Egypt and Syria.

* * * *

THE MUGHAL CONQUESTS—THE KINGS OF HIND

In the space of twelve years the Mughals conquered every country, and nowhere were rebellion and turbulence left unrepressed. Having reached a place where they saw men with the limbs of beasts, and knew that there could be no habitation beyond it, they returned to their own country, bringing the kings of various countries with them, who presented their offerings of allegiance. Buku Khan honoured all of them according to their respective ranks, and sent them back to their own countries; but he would not allow the king of Hind to come on account of his filth and ugliness.

* * * *

CHINGIZ KHAN IN BOKHARA

Next day, the Imams and elders of the city of Bokhara went to do homage to Changiz Khan,⁴ and he came in order to see the town and fort. He entered the Jami' Masjid and stood before the archways. His son, Tuli Khan, was on foot, and ascended the pulpit. Changiz

³ (The same name probably as we have elsewhere found as "Bilkatigin).

⁴ The usual way of pronouncing his name in India is *Changiz Khan*, but perhaps *Chingiz* is more correct. For D'Ohsen, who spells the name "*Tchinguiz*," says it is derived from "*Chink*," strong, and "*guiz*," the plural particle.—*Histoire des Mangols*, Tome I. p. 99. On his coins, moreover, the last syllable is not prolonged.—See *Journ. R. A. S. Soc.*, Vol. IX p. 385.

Khan enquired, "Is this the palace of the Sultan?" They replied, "It is the house of God." He then dismounted, and ascended two or three steps of the pulpit, and exclaimed, "The country is denuded of forage, fill my horses' bellies." They opened the granaries which were in the city, and brought the corn. They brought forth the chests which contained the Kurans into the area of the mosque, and scattered the books about, converting the chests into horsetroughs. They circulated their flagons, and the courtesans of the city were sent for to dance and sing, and the Mughlas raised their own voices in response.^b The Imams, doctors, Saiyids, scholars, and priests, were appointed to take charge of the quadrupeds, being singled out for that special duty. After one or two hours, Changiz Khan arose to return to his camp, and the others also departed, after the leaves of the Kuran had been kicked about in the midst of impurities.⁶

* * * *

One of the inhabitants fled to Khurasan after these transactions. They enquired of him the state of Bokhara. He replied "The Mughals came, dug, burnt, slaughtered, plundered, and departed." A knot of learned men

⁵ *European travellers of this period are not complimentary to their musical talents. Simon de Saint-Quentin says, "Cantimus vel potius ululatibus." The Dominican, Vincent de Beauvais, says, "Tartari, modo interrogativo, clamoroso, loquuntur, gutture rabido et horrible. Cantantes mugiant ut tauri, vel ululant ut lupi, voces inarticulates in cantando proferunt."*—*Vincentius, Speculum Historiale, lib. xxxi. p. 54, and lib. xxix. c. 71, ap. D'Ohsson.*

⁶ *Compare D'Ohsson, Histoire des Mangols, Tom. I. p. 230; Price, Mahomedan History, Vol. II. p. 401; Modern Univ. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 125; De la Croix, Hist. Genghis Can, p. 212.*

who heard him unanimously declared that it would be impossible to express any sentence more concisely in Parsi. The cream and essence of whatever is written in this volume might be represented in these few words.

* * * *

CHANGIZ KHAN'S PURSUIT AND DEFEAT OF SULTAN JALALU-D DIN

Changiz Khan detached a portion of his army, fully equipped, from Talikan, against Sultan Jalalu-din, and when he heard of his still further successes, he himself marched with such expedition that there was no difference between night and day, and no time for cooking food. On his reaching Ghazna, he ascertained that the Sultan had left it fifteen days previous, for the purpose of crossing the river Sindh, so he appointed Yelwaj with his contingent to the charge of Ghazna,⁷ and himself hastened like a cloud-impelling wind in pursuit of him.

He came up with the Sultan on the bank of the Sind, and hemmed him completely in with his army, several curves extending one behind another like a bow, of which the river was the string. Changiz Khan ordered his troops to advance, and enjoined that every attempt should be made to take the Sultan alive. Chagtai and Ogtai⁸ also arrived to his support from Khwarizm.

When the Sultan saw that it was a time for exertion and action, he prepared for fight with the few men he had under him; galloping from the right to the left wing, from the left to the centre, and making furious

⁷ *The Rauzatu-s safa* says he was appointed Darogha. Yelwaj means an ambassador in Turki. Respecting him see D'Ohsson, Vol. II. p. 193.

⁸ "Ogtai," in the Mongal language, signifies ascent or exaltation.

onslaughts. But the army of the Mughals made good their advance by degrees, narrowing the field of battle and the opportunity of escape, while the Sultan was fighting like an angry lion.

*In every direction that he urged his steed
He raised dust commingled with blood*

Orders were again issued that they should take him prisoner, and the army refrained from wounding with spear and arrow, in their anxiety to carry the commands of Changiz Khan into effect. Jalalu-d din himself maintained his ground and, mounting a fresh horse that was brought to him, made one more charge, and then retreated like the wind and like a flash of lightning upon water.⁹

When Changiz Khan saw the Sultan had dashed into the river, and that the Mughals were anxious to follow him, he prevented them, and placing his hand in his mouth through excess of astonishment, exclaimed to his sons:

*This is one whom you may indeed call a man!
A true fighting elephant to tooth and marrow!¹⁰
This he said, and looked in that direction*

"Where the Sultan went like a Rustam on his way.

All his followers who were not drowned in the river were put to the sword,¹¹ and the ladies of his household and his children were brought to Changiz Khan. He

⁹ *The Mod. Univ. History says that Changiz Khan lost twenty thousand men in this action.*

¹⁰ Or, "trunk and launch."

¹¹ *D'Ohsson attributes these words to Juwaini—"Persons who were witnesses of this event have told me that so many Khawarizmians were slain, that the waters were red for the distance of a bow-shot." I cannot find the passage.*

ordered with respect to all the males, even down to those who were sucklings, that the nipple of death should be placed in the mouth of their life, and that their bodies should be left to be devoured by crows.¹²

As all the property and wealth of the Sultan had been thrown that day into the river by his orders, Changiz Khan directed divers to search for it, and bring out what they could. This transaction, which was one of the wonders of the time, took place in Rajab, of the year 618 H., in accordance with the proverb, "Wonders occur in 'Rajab.'" Changiz Khan, after the battle marched to the banks of the Jihun (Indus), and sent Ogtai to Ghazna. On his arrival they proffered their submission. He ordered all the inhabitants to be brought out into the plain and counted, and, after selecting artizans from among them, he ordered all the rest to be slain. He also destroyed the city, and Ogtai returned towards Hirat, after burying the slain.

THE MUCHALS WINTER IN HINDUSTAN, AND RETURN

Chaghtai was left on the borders of Kirman. He went in pursuit of the Sultan, and as he could not find him, he fixed his winter quarters in plains of Hindustan.¹³ The governor of the country in which he cantoned himself was Salar Ahmad, who bound the girdle of

¹² Muhammad of Nessa says that the Sultan was beseeched by his ladies to slay them, and preserve them from captivity, and that he drowned them. D'Ohssoen observes that no other author mentions this.

¹³ The name of the place mentioned in the original cannot be identified. It bears most resemblance to "the hills of Lahur, which is a city." It will be observed from the corresponding passage from the "*Rauzatu-s safa*," (See elsewhere), that it is there called "Kalinjar on the Sind." That it was somewhere in the plain is evident.—(See note on Sultan Jalalu-d din).

obedience round his waist, and provided all the supplies he could for the use of the army. On account of the pestilential air most of the army fell sick and lost their strength, and as they had many slaves with them, having added to their number while encamped there (insomuch that to every tent there were as many as ten or twenty, who were engaged in preparing rice and other things for the use of their masters), and as the climate of the country agreed well with their constitutions, Changiz Khan¹⁴ gave orders that in every tent every captive should prepare and clean five hundred *mans* of rice. All expedition was made, and within one week they ceased from that labour. He then issued orders that every prisoner in camp should be slain, and the next morning not a trace of captives or Hindus remained. He sent ambassadors to all the princes of that country, and they submitted. One was despatched to the Rana, and he was at first well received, but was afterwards crucified; upon which an army was sent against the Rana, and he was taken. An army was also sent to besiege Aghrak, in the fort in which he had taken refuge.

When the army had recovered its health, thoughts of return were entertained, in order that by way of Hindustan they might reach the country of Tangut.¹⁵

¹⁴ *It would appear, therefore, that Changiz Khan entered India, unless he issued these orders, from some other spot; but it is not easy to tell precisely what were his own proceedings immediately after the battle on the Indus.*

¹⁵ *Some say "Tibet," The "Bahru-l Buldan" also says "Tangut," "Several thousand horsemen crossed the Sind in pursuit of Jalalu-d din, and went thence to Multan and ravaged that country and Lohawar, but as they could not remain there on account of the unhealthiness of the climate, they returned to Changiz Khan by way of Ghazna. Changiz took up his quarters at Mata*

They advanced some marches, and when they found there was no road, they came back again, and went to Forshawar (Peshawar), and employed themselves in returning by the same road which they came. . . . The reason of their expediting their return was that intelligence was received that Khita and Tangut had exhibited signs of disaffection, in consequence of Changiz Khan's prolonged absence.

* * * *

CAPTURE OF BHERA, AND RETREAT FROM MULTAN

When Chaghtai returned without finding the Sultan, Changiz Khan despatched Turtai¹⁶ with two tumans of Mughals, to pursue the Sultan beyond the Sind, which he passed over, and then reached the banks of the Bhut,¹⁷

Kathor, but not being able to remain there on account of the badness of the air, he attempted to reach Tangut by way of Hindustan; but after going two or three marches, and finding no road, he went by way of Bamian to Samarkand."

¹⁶ D'Ohsso says "*Bela and Tourtai,*" and that the places plundered were Lahore, Multan, Peshawar, and Malikpur. Miles says, "*Doormur, Bakshi, and Bala Noyanu.*" He also says the Mughals "*continued their pursuit to Mulka-poor and the sea-side*"—*Shajratul Atrak*, p. 179.

¹⁷ There is a difficulty here. "*Bhut*" is here called a river and a country and "*Bhera*" reads more like "*Banda,*" D'Ohsso (l. 309) reads "*Biah,*" for "*Bhut,*" and "*Bhera;*" but stones could not have been floated down the Biyah to Multan. I prefer the reading adopted in the text, not only for this reason, but because there never was a fort of Biah, and because Bhera was a place of importance on the Bhut; or Jailam, having direct communication with Multan, and inexhaustible supplies of stones from the salt range in its vicinity. The *Rauzatu-s safa* gives no name to the fort.

which is a country of Hindustan, then held by Kamru-din Kirmani, one of the Sultan's nobles. Turtai conquered that country, and took the strong fort of Bhera, and after ravaging that neighbourhood, he went towards Multan, but as there were no stones there, he ordered that the population of Bhera should be turned out to make flats of wood, and load them with stones for the manjaniks. So they floated them down the river, and when they arrived at Multan, the manjaniks were set to work, and threw down many of the ramparts of the fort, which was nearly taken, when the excessive heat of the weather put a stop to their operations. The Mughals contented themselves with plundering and massacreing all the country of Multan and Lohawar, and returned thence across the Sind to Ghaznin.

* * * *

A LARGE DRAGON

Abu-l Fazl Baihaki has related in his Tarikh-i Naziri, that one of the soldiers of Sultan Mahmud on the return from Somnat, killed a large dragon, and when they flayed it, the skin was found to be thirty yards long and four cubits broad. My object in mentioning this is, that Abu-l Fazl says, let any who doubts this fact go to Ghaznin, and see the skin, which is spread out like a curtain, and is suspended at one of the gates. Now the writer of this history says he is entitled to the same credit, when he asserts a thing which may seem impossible.

DEATH OF MUHAMMAD GHORI

In the year 602 H (1205 A.D.), Muhammad Ghori determined on prosecuting a holy war in Hind, in order to repair the fortunes of his servants and armies; for within the last few years Khurasan, on account of the disasters it had sustained, yielded neither men nor money. When he arrived in Hind, God gave him such

a victory that his treasures were replenished, and his armies renewed. on his return, after crossing the Jailam, he was encamped on the banks of the Jihun (Indus), so that one-half of the royal enclosure, where the private apartments were, was in the water. In consequence of which no precaution had been taken to ensure their protection. About the time of the mid-day siesta, two or three Hindus came through the water, and falling like fire upon the royal tent, slew the Sultan, who was entirely unprepared for such a treacherous attack.

* * * *

SULTAN JALALU-D DIN IN HINDUSTAN¹⁸

When the Sultan had survived the double danger of water and fire, namely the whirlpools of the Sind and the flame of Changiz Khan's persecution, he was joined by six or seven of his followers, who had escaped from drowning, and whom the fiery blast of evil had not sent to the dust of corruption; but, as no other course except retreat and concealment among the forests was left to him, he remained two or three days longer in his covert,¹⁹ until he was joined by fifty more men. The spies whom he had sent out to watch the proceedings of Changiz Khan, returned, and brought him intelligence that a body²⁰

¹⁸ In the highly flattering notice which M. Quatremere has taken of my first volume in the *Journal des Savants*, for September, 1850, and January, 1851, he has made some comments upon the extract from the *Jamiut-tawarikh*, which corresponds with the passage here translated from the *Jahan Kushai*. I do not concur in all the corrections of the learned reviewer, but thankfully avail myself of some of them. (See note on Jalalu-din).

¹⁹ Miles says, "he struck into the Chorl, or desert of Churk."—*Shajratu-l Atrak*, p. 178.

²⁰ The *Tarikh-i Alfi* says "nearly two hundred."

of Hindu rascals,²¹ horse and foot, were lying only two parasangs distance from the Sultan, occupied in rioting and debauchery. The Sultan ordered his followers to arm themselves each with a club, and then making a night attack upon this party, he slew most of them, capturing their animals and arms.

He was then joined by other parties, mounted on horses and mules,²² and soon after certain intelligence was brought to him that two or three thousand men of the armies of Hind were encamped in the neighbourhood. The Sultan attacked them with a hundred and twenty men, and slew many of those Hindus with the Hindi sword, and set up his own troops with the plunder he obtained.²³

ARABIC VERSE

*Whoever requires anything from me, let him live
by his sword,
Whoever requires anything from other men, let
him solicit them.*

When the news spread throughout Hindustan of the Sultan's fame and courage, five or six thousand mounted men assembled from the hills of Balala and Mankala, for the purpose of attacking him. On his

²¹ Price says "a banditti." It is probable that they were a gang of those dakoits who have only lately been extirpated from India.

²² The original has "long-tailed animals," or horned cattle. The *Rauzatu-s safa*, the *Tarikh-i Alfi*, and other authorities, have "long-eared animals," mules or donkeys, which is a more probable reading. In another passage D'Ohsson considers "long-tailed animals" to indicate a species of Sheep.—*Hist. Mong.*, Tom. III. p. 118. (The *Jamiu-t twarikh* says, "Shutur sawar wa gao-sawar—camel-riders and bullock-riders.")

²³ *Firishta* adds "a large quantity of money."

gaining intelligence of this movement, he set upon them with five hundred cavalry which he had under him, and routed and slew the Hindu armies.²⁴ The effect of this success was that he was joined by several more adherents from all quarters, so that his force amounted to three thousand men.

When the world-conquering Changiz Khan, who was then in the neighbourhood of Ghazni, heard of these new levies, he despatched a Mughal army, under Turtai, to expel him, and as the Sultan was not able to oppose him, he went towards Dehli, when Turtai crossed the river. The Mughals, when they heard of his flight, returned and pillaged the country round Malikpur.

The Sultan, when he was two or three days distant from Dehli, deputed a messenger named 'Ainu-l mulk to Sultan Shamsu-d din, saying—"The great have opportunities of showing mercy, since it is evident in our relations with each other, that I have come to claim your protection and favour, and the chances are rare of meeting with a person of my rank on whom to bestow a kind reception. If the road of friendship should be made clear, and the ear of brotherhood should listen in our communications with each other, and if, in joy and affliction, aid and support be mutually afforded, and if our object and desires should be accomplished, when our enemies witness our alliance, the teeth of their enmity will be blunted." He then solicited that some

²⁴D'Ohsson (I. 308), on the authority of Muhammad of Nessa, says that the prince of Judi had one thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry, and that the Sultan, at the head of four thousand cavalry, put the Indians to flight, killed their chief with an arrow, and secured a considerable booty. He also says (III. 4) that many generals of Irak, dissatisfied with his brother Ghiyasu-d din, joined his standards in India.

spot²⁵ might be indicated in which he might reside for a few days.

As the courage and determination of the Sultan were noised abroad, and his exceeding power and predominance were celebrated throughout the world, Sultan Shamsu-d din, after receiving the message, was engaged for some time in deliberation, reflecting upon the importance of the result, alarmed at his proceedings, and apprehensive of his attacks. It is said that he entertained a design against the life of 'Ainu-l mulk, so that he died;²⁶ but Sultan Shamsu-d din sent an envoy of his own, with presents suited to such a distinguished guest, and offered the following subterfuge for not according to him the place of residence he desired, namely, "that the climate of these parts is not favourable, and there is no tract suited to the Sultan; but that, if he wished, Shamsu-d din would fix upon some place near Dehli where the Sultan might take up his abode, and that it would be made over to him as soon as it was cleared of rebels and enemies."

When the Sultan heard this reply he returned, and reached the borders of Balala and Mankala, where from several quarters he was joined by his soldiers who had escaped, and by entire bands of those who had been wounded by the sword, insomuch that his troops amounted to ten thousand men.

He sent Taju-d din Malik Khilj to the mountains of Jud, who plundered that tract, and obtained much booty. He sent an emissary, also, to ask Rai Kokar Saknin's²⁷ daughter in marriage. The Rai consented,

²⁵ *The Rauzatu-s safa uses the Mughal word "yurt," or private domain.*

²⁶ *The gentle insinuation is more boldly expressed by others, who declare that he was murdered by the Sultan, but with what object it is impossible to say.*

²⁷ *The name is also spelt "Sangin" by some of the*

and despatched his son with a force to serve under the Sultan, who bestowed upon him the title of Katlagh Khan.²⁸

There was a chief, by name Kubacha, who had the country of Sind under his government, and aspired to independence. There was enmity between him and Rai Saknin Kokar. The Sultan despatched an army against Kubacha, and appointed Uzbek Pai to command it. Kubacha was encamped with twenty thousand men on the banks of the Sind, at the distance of a *parasang* from Uchh. Uzbek Pai, at the head of seven thousand men, suddenly falling upon them by night, routed and dispersed them. Kubacha embarked on a boat, and fled to Akar and Bakkar,²⁹ two forts on an island, while Uzbek Pai took up his quarters in Kubacha's camp, captured all those whom he found within its precincts, and sent tidings of the victory to the Sultan, who, marching onwards, arrived at the camp in which the tent of Kubacha was pitched.

Kubacha afterwards, flying from Akar and Bakkar,

authors who treat of this period. Hammer calls him Kukarsengin. He appears on the stage eighteen years previous in the Tajul ma-asir, where the reading is "Sarki". He must have been a Gakkhur, not a Kokar. As these tribes reside close to each other, the names are frequently confused.

²⁸ This title which signifies in Turki "the fortunate Khan," was a favourite one about this period. We find Ogtai bestowing it upon the Atabak Abu Bakr, and upon Burak Hajib. The latter received from the Khalif the title of "Katlagh Sultan," which Ogtai subsequently bestowed upon Burak's son.—Compare D'Ohsson's *Hist. de Mong.*, Tom. I. pp. 222, 439; Tom. III 131, 132; and Price, *Muhammadian History*, Vol. II. pp. 427, 433.

²⁹ (See Note on Jalalu-d din.)

proceeded to Multan. The Sultan sent an ambassador to him, requiring the surrender of Amir Khan's son and daughter, who had fled from the battle of the Sind, and had taken shelter at Multan. Money was also demanded. Kubacha complied with the requisition, delivered up the son and daughter of Amir Khan, and sent a large sum of money for the use of the Sultan, soliciting that his territory might not be injured.

When the weather became hot, the Sultan left Uchh with the intention of proceeding through Balala and Man-kala, to take up his summer-quarters in the mountains of Jud, and on his way laid siege to the fort of Parsrur,³⁰ where he was wounded in the head by an arrow. When the fort was captured, the whole garrison was put to the sword. He returned from that place, when he received intelligence of the advance of the Mughal armies in pursuit of him, and as his way led him near Multan, he sent an envoy to Kubacha to intimate that the Sultan was passing in that direction, and to demand tribute. Kubacha refused, and assuming an attitude of defiance, advanced to fight him. The standards of the Sultan halted but for a moment, and then departed, returning towards Uchh, which also had revolted against him. The Sultan remained before it two days, and after setting fire to the city, went towards Sadusan.³¹

SULTAN JALALU-D DIN IN SIND

Fakhru-d din Salari was governor of Sadusan on the

³⁰ The original has "Pasrawar." Both the *Jamiu-t-tawarakh* and the *Rauzatu-s safa* read "Bisram." The *Tarikh-i Alfi* has "Bas," and *Firishta* cautiously gives no name. Hammer has "Besram." The position, antiquity, and importance of Parsrur seem to indicate that as the correct reading.

³¹ The *Tarikh-i Alfi* adds, "which is now called Siwistan." It is at present known as Sihwan.

part of Kubacha, and Lachin of Khita, who was in command of the army, went out against Amir Khan,³² the leader of the Sultan's advance guard. Lachin was slain in the action, and Uzbek Khan invested the city of Sadusan. When the Sultan himself arrived, Fakhru-d din Salari presented himself before him in an humble posture, with his sword (round his neck), and clothed in a shroud.³³ The Sultan entered the city, and after staying there for one month, he conferred an honorary dress upon Fakhru-d din Salari, and restored to him the governorship of Sadusan.

The Sultan then went towards Dewal and Darbela, and Jaisi;³⁴ the ruler of that country, fled away on a ship, and went in the direction of the sea. The Sultan

³² This name is in some copies read "Awar Khan," or "Anwar Khan," and in some "Anur Khan." Amir Khan is probably the right reading, and we may consider him to be the same person who was repulsed just before the action on the Sind, whom D'Ohsson calls "Orkhan," and whose daughter had fled to the Sultan for protection. We find the same Orkhan acting a conspicuous part in the subsequent events in Persia.

³³ This was a common mode in the East to imply that one's life was in another's power. On the Sultan's return to Persia, we find his repentant generals going through the same emblematic form of contrition.—See also Briggs, *Firishta* Vol. III. p. 347.

³⁴ This name is spelt differently by different authors. It is not improbable that Jaisi was considered a mere title and that it was ascribed to the ruler of Debal, because, at the time of Arab invasion, Jaisiya, the son of Dahir, was governor of that town, through the same kind of ignorance which induced Hatifi to call the ruler of the Punjab in Timur's time. "Pithaura," two hundred years after his decease, and Rashidu-d din and Binakati to call Bari the capital of Oude, three hundred years after

remained near Dewal and Damrila, and sent Khas Khan with an army to pillage Nahrwala, whence he brought back many captives.

The Sultan raised a jami masjid at Dewal, on the spot where an idol temple stood. While he was engaged in these operations, intelligence was received from Irak, that Sultan Ghiyasu-d din had established himself in that province, and that most of the troops who were quartered there were attached to the interests of Sultan Jalalu-d din, and were anxiously expecting his return. It was also represented, that Burak Hajib was in Kirman, and had fortified himself in the city of Bardasir. It was also given out that the Mughal army was still in pursuit of the Sultan. He accordingly departed from Dewal and Damrila, and went by way of Makran, but the climate was so very insalubrious that he lost the greater part of his army.³⁵

When Burak Hajib heard of the approach of the Sultan, he sent him many presents, with the expression of his hearty congratulations, and, on the Sultan's arrival, Burak Hajib solicited that he would accept his daughter in marriage. The Sultan acceded to the request, and the marriage was celebrated. The Kotwal also came forth, and presented the keys of his fort, upon which the Sultan entered it, and remained during the night.

it had ceased to be so. Be it remembered these are all errors of foreign, not local writers.

³⁵D'Ohrson (III. 5) adds that he left Uzbek to govern his possessions in India, and Wafa Malik those in Ghor and Ghazna. De Guignes (II. 281) says he left "Pehle-van Uzbek and Hassan Carrae, surnamed Ouapka Moulk." The latter in the end expelled Uzbek, in the year 627, and seized all the possessions which he had in India.

SULTAN JALALU-D DIN'S ALLIES

After the lapse of a week, Sultan Jalalu-d din arrived at Ghazna, where he was joined by many bodies of his adherents, and assumed the pomp and circumstance of a monarch. When Yamin Malik heard, in Hindustan, of the Sultan's arrival at Ghazna, he hastened to meet him. Aghrak Malik, also, with an army of Khiljis and Turkomans, came from Peshawar to do him homage, and A'zam Malik³⁶ brought a large force of Ghorians to serve under him. In all the troops now at his disposal amounted to twenty thousand cavalry.

The Sultan went with these large reinforcements to Parwan, on the borders of Bamian, where many roads converge. There he received intelligence that a body of ten or twelve thousand Mughal cavalry had gone in pursuit of him to Ghazna, where, as there was no army to oppose them, they had entered the city before the inhabitants had received intelligence of their approach, had burned several mosques, massacred all the people they found in the lanes and streets, and then continued their pursuit after the Sultan to Parwan, by way of Kalawaz, staying at Ghazna only one day.³⁷

THEIR FATE, AFTER DESERTING THE SULTAN

In the action which ensued the Sultan was victorious, and the defeated Mughals returned to Changiz Khan in Talikan; but after the victory strife arose in the Sultan's army, between the Khiljis, Turkomans, and Ghorians on one side, and the Khwarizmians on the other,

³⁶ Malik was at that time a title between that of Amir and Khan, for we find Amirs promoted to the rank of Malik, and Maliks to that of Khan.

³⁷ This relates to what occurred previous to the action on the Sind, but the author has deferred the narrative till he could accompany it by a statement of the fate of the Sultan's allies.

respecting the division of the horses which had been taken as booty. Aghrak Malik and Azam Malik went off by way of Peshawar, with all the Khiljis, Turkomans, and Ghorians. The Sultan returned to Ghazna with the Turks and Khwarzimians, who all remained true to him.³⁸ Aghrak Malik, Azam Malik, and the other Khilj, Turkoman, and Ghorian chiefs, went, after first leaving the Sultan, to Nangnehar, which was in the fief of Azam Malik. He entertained them all nobly, and treated them with great kindness, until disgust and hatred arose between Aghrak Malik and Koh Jandar, one of the Khilj chiefs, who had five or six thousand families under him.

Aghrak Malik turned his face towards Peshawar, at the head of twenty thousand men, and Koh Jandar cantoned himself at Nangnehar.³⁹ When Saifu-d din Malik had encamped only one march distant from Nangnehar, he sent a messenger to Azam Malik to say:—"Between us and you there exist the relations of father and son. I am father and you are son. If you desire to gratify me, do not allow Koh Jandar to remain in your territory, nor bestow upon him any tract of land." Azam Malik said:—"In this matter it is not expedient that there should be any misunderstanding or wrangling between Musulmans," so he went forth with fifty horsemen of his bodyguard to Saifu-d din Aghrak, in order to effect a reconciliation. Saifu-d din Aghrak advanced to meet him, and they sat down together to drink. Azam Malik spoke on the subject of Koh Jandar, and Aghrak Malik pretended to listen to his persuasions. Saifu-d din aghrak then rose up suddenly in a state of inebriety,

³⁸ D'Ohsson says that before the battle of the Sind, the Sultan wrote urgently to his dissatisfied allies to join him, to which they consented when it was too late. *The Mod. Univ. Hist.* has the same statement.

³⁹ D'Ohsson reads "Bekerhar."

and went towards the camp of Koh Jandar, with a few horsemen. Koh Jandar, under the impression that he had come on a friendly visit, went out with his sons to meet him, and give him an honourable reception, when Aghrak Malik in his drunkenness drew his sword, with the intention of killing Koh, whose attendants seized the assailant and cut him in pieces.

When the news of this event reached the camp of Aghrak Malik, his troops suspected that he had been the victim of a plot between Koh and Azam Malik. In consequence of which, they seized Azam Malik and slew him. They then attacked the camp of Koh, and killed him and his sons. Many were slain on both sides, and even the women took part in the fray, and lost their lives.

About this time Pakchak and Alau-l mulk Sadr were despatched by order of Changiz Khan to punish these drunkards. Pakchak was the commandant of these Mughals, and Alau-l mulk of the infantry, and the residue of those armies of Khiljis, Turkomans, and Ghorians were all put to the sword and dispersed, within two or three months after they had deserted Sultan Jalalu-d din, either in squabbles amongst themselves or by the armies of Changiz Khan, so that not a vestige of them remained.

* * * *

BURAK HAJIB⁴⁰

Burak Hajib having had some dispute with Taju-d din Karimu-s shark, marched away with his army towards Hindustan. In the year 619 H., Ghiyasu-d din designed to go to Fars. . . . When news was received of the

⁴⁰ The previous history of this adventurer is given by Rampoldi, *Annali Musulmani*, Vol. VIII. note 69. See also pp. 267, 298, and 555 of the same volume. Hammer spells the name *Borak*; in the *Gemaldesaal*.

arrival of the Mughal army, under Tului⁴¹ Khan, Burak Hajib requested Ghiyasu-d din to allow him to go to Ispahan, but he went with his tribe (Karakhitai) to Hindustan, by the road of Kirman.⁴² When he arrived at Juraft and Daryai, the garrison of the fort of Kawachir urged Shujau-d din Abu-l naim to follow after him, so Shujau-d din plundered his camp, and brought back many Khitai slaves.

⁴¹ Tului signifies in the Mongol language "a mirror," and after his death it was forbidden that any other word should be used in this sense, except the Turki one of gueuzugu.—D'Ohsson's *Hist. Mong.*, Tom. II. p. 60.

⁴² Hindustan appears to have been a favourite retreat of the Karakhitais of Kirman. A few years subsequent to this event, we find one of the successors of Burak Hajib fleeing to Hindustan. "On attaining to years of discretion, Hjjaj Sultan proceeded to treat his mother with indignity, and in one of his carouses proposing to her to dance before him, the insulted princess justly took offence, and withdrew to the court of Abaka. The Sultan, not a little terrified on his part, fled shortly afterwards into Hindustan. At the expiration of ten years, followed by a considerable army, raised for his assistance, by the princes of India, he was returning to recover his inheritance, when he died on the march, in the month of Zi-lhijja, 670 H".—Price's *Mahommedan History*, Vol. II. p. 434. D'Ohsson says (IV. 92) that he fled to Dehli, and that Sultan Jalalu-d din Khilji supplied him with an army to recover his possession.

THE END

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